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**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**ZHIVKOV LECTURES AT BCP ACADEMY**

**FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES, MANAGEMENT**

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

ZHIVKOV LECTURES AT BCP ACADEMY  
FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES, MANAGEMENT

[Series of six lectures delivered by Todor Zhivkov to the students and faculty of the BCP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management; published in six separate pamphlets by Partizdat, Sofia, 1983]

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## BULGARIA

### Lecture No 1

#### On the Nature of Mature Socialism's Own Material and Technical Base: Problems and Approaches of Its Development in Bulgaria

#### Introduction

#### Comrades:

I accepted with pleasure the request of the management of the BCP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management to address the academy's students and faculty on some theoretical problems and practical approaches to building a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic, as subsequently elaborated at the 12th Party Congress (1981). When I accepted the invitation, I was considering discussing this topic in a single lecture. Eventually, however, in the course of writing it, I realized that this was neither possible nor correct.

Why? Because building a developed socialist society is a difficult and complex process and because the recent theoretical elaborations of our party apply not to individual aspects of this historical process but literally cover all social areas, all aspects of the functioning and development of our society as an integral social organism.

This has made it necessary, comrades, to deliver several lectures.

Naturally, even several lectures will not cover entirely the tasks we are implementing and the practical approaches we apply. My purpose is to sum up the essential problems which the BCP and all working people in our country have been resolving after the 12th Party Congress, during the stage of building a developed socialist society.

Before undertaking the consideration of these problems, allow me to share some more general considerations.

First. The new program of the Bulgarian Communist Party, approved by the 10th Party Congress in 1971, stipulates that building a developed socialist society is the immediate historical task of the BCP and the Bulgarian people.

We consider the building of a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic a necessary and inevitable stage on the way to communism--the higher phase of the communist socioeconomic system. The transition from capitalism to communism is impossible without covering the stage of building mature socialism and its further advancement.

On 9 September 1944, under the leadership of the BCP, the Bulgarian people rose to an armed uprising and, with the decisive help of the Soviet army-liberator, overthrew the monarchal fascist system and established a people's democracy. The Bulgarian socialist revolution had won. The working class, allied with the toiling peasantry and with the active participation of the people's intelligentsia undertook the socialist reorganization of society. As early as the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, socialist production relations became dominant in town and country. We successfully completed the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

Our own historical experience and that of the other socialist countries proved that during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism society is unable to resolve the main problems inherent in the first phase of the communist socioeconomic system and to create the necessary material and spiritual conditions for the gradual conversion to its higher phase. A more or less lengthy period is needed during which socialism develops on its own foundations until it can reach the highest stage described by Lenin as "developed socialist society." All of this gave grounds to our party to substantiate in its new program the need for undergoing the stage of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria and to illumine the main characteristics of mature socialism in our country.

Second. The inflexible scientific and ideological foundation of all theoretical and practical activities related to building a developed socialist society is the great revolutionary doctrine developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The BCP is infinitely loyal to Marxism-Leninism. It is systematically defending its purity from attempts to revise it on the left or the right. It is uncompromisingly struggling against bourgeois ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The party's strength rests on the fact that it considers Marxist-Leninist theory not a dogma, as we are accused by our class and ideological opponents. To the Bulgarian communists Marxism-Leninism is an eternally live doctrine, a manual for action which is developing and becoming richer along with the development of the historical process and the enrichment of global revolutionary experience.

Third. The BCP is guided by the view that the transition from capitalism to communism is a natural historical process which is objectively based on the general laws of social development. However, these laws have their specific manifestations in the individual countries. This is determined also by the variety of the specific forms in which the transition from capitalism to communism takes place.

That is why in our general April political line and practical activities in building a developed socialist society we try to apply the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with Bulgarian conditions and promptly to define and resolve the new problems and ripening contradictions, and theoretically to interpret our experience.

Our party also considers it its international duty to study and interpret for itself the theoretical and practical experience of the parties and members of the socialist commonwealth, the international communist and worker movements,

the national liberation movement and the progressive forces in the world, the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union above all. "Foreign experience enables us to avoid confusion, protects us from errors and suggests solutions. Its study and creative application are a vital need for any party or country building a socialist society."

Comrades:

The 12th Party Congress noted that in the 10 years after the adoption of the new program the tasks set for building mature socialism are being successfully implemented in all areas of social life. The achieved successes are the result of the tireless creative toil of the working class, the farmworkers and the people's intelligentsia. They are the result of the accurate Marxist-Leninist general line of the BCP, which was developed at the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, a line which we describe as the April line and which we are steadily developing and enriching further. Our successes are also the result of the fraternal friendship and mutual aid with the members of the socialist commonwealth, the Soviet Union above all. They are also the result of the favorable conditions created as a result of the struggle waged by the international communist and worker movements and the intensification of the global revolutionary process.

One of the main conclusions which can be drawn from the past development of the countries of real socialism is that building a developed socialist society is not a short stage. It is a lengthy period during which we must lay the material and technical foundations of mature socialism, improve its base and superstructure further, increasingly surmount socioclass disparities on the way to social homogeneity, ensure a high living standard and comprehensively develop the socialist individual. These are tasks of historical significance and the efforts of the entire party and people are concentrated on their implementation.

We all know that the work and struggle of the BCP in building developed socialism is not a triumphal march. Our work and struggle are accompanied by tremendous constructive efforts and the surmounting of a number of difficulties caused above all by the magnitude of the revolutionary changes that are being made but also our inexperience, errors and shortcomings.

What, however, is the main feature? The main feature is that today's Bulgaria is an advanced socialist country with a developed industry and a highly mechanized agriculture, restructured on a socialist basis; it is a state which enriches its own and the world's cultural values; it is a state in which everything is built above all for the working person, for the sake of man.

Comrades:

I assume that some questions may arise in the course of my lectures. This is entirely natural, for, as I myself pointed out, I cannot be exhaustive. That is why I request of you to address your questions in writing and I shall try to answer them in my final lecture.



Comrades:

Allow me, from the very beginning of this lecture, strongly to emphasize that the Bulgarian Communist Party has always ascribed prime significance to building the material and technical foundations for socialism in our country.

This is understandable, for the material and technical base objectively plays a determining role in the overall development of society and our progress toward communism.

As we know, in terms of its physical aspect the material and technical base of society is the sum total of material elements in the production and non-production areas--of science, education, management, and so on. Its most important part, its nucleus, however, is the material and technical base of production, due to its decisive significance in human life.

In terms of its social function, the material and technical base of society is the foundation on which the economic and social advancement of any country rests.

The condition of the material and technical base determines to the greatest extent the level of labor productivity in the national economy, the growth of the national income and the satisfaction of the growing material, spiritual and social needs of the people.

The role of the material and technical base is increasing also in the development of the nonproduction area. Its condition determines to an exceptional degree the manner in which the achievements of science and technology will be applied in the intensification of management and in scientific activities and the development of education, culture and health care and in improving the way of life of the people.

The material and technical base is of great importance in the development of the socioclass structure of the society, in changing the nature and content of labor, in shaping a more advanced sectorial, territorial and professional manpower structure and in surmounting interclass and intraclass disparities and converting to social homogeneity.

The material and technical base plays a unique role in the effective participation of the country in socialist economic integration, the development of trade and the cooperation and specialization of our national output within the framework of the international division of labor.

Not least is the great significance of the material and technical base in strengthening the country's defense capability.

Naturally, awareness of the role of the material and technical base in the life of society is in itself important and necessary. It is directly related to the formulation of the party's general line. However, today this alone is not enough. Bearing in mind the stage of development entered by our country, the nature of the material and technical base, adequate for a developed



socialist society, becomes of prime theoretical and practical significance in determining the directions and ways of its establishment.

This problem is as important as it is difficult. The BCP relies for its resolution on Marxist-Leninist theory, the experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and our domestic experience. We also take into consideration some aspects of the experience of the developed capitalist countries.

The development of the material and technical base of the new society in Bulgaria was undertaken immediately following the victory of the socialist revolution. To this effect we nationalized industry, cooperated agriculture and extensively expanded the building of new factories and plants. At that very early stage of building socialism the party was faced with finding a proper answer to the question of what and how much to build, and the development of which sectors and production facilities were to be emphasized.

It is well-known that during the period of the cult of personality the erroneous concept appeared that Bulgaria had no need for heavy industry but should specialize above all in agriculture and light industry. During that period the Consumption Fund was groundlessly expanded at the expense of sharply limiting the Accumulations Fund which, during the entire second five-year plan (1953-1957) was reduced to 19.8 percent and, in 1956, to 14.3 percent of the overall volume of utilized national income. This greatly narrowed the base of expanded reproduction, without which we cannot ensure either an accelerated economic development or guarantee a steady increase in the living standard of the people. Hindrances arose in the utilization of manpower and unemployment appeared in many parts of the country, in the large cities in particular.

One of the greatest merits of the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum was the elaboration of a scientific Marxist-Leninist strategy for the country's economic development.

The most essential part of the April economic strategy is the policy of socialist industrialization, the accelerated development of heavy industry as the foundation for the effective development of the entire national economy and strengthening the positions of the working class. The application of this strategy was undertaken immediately after the April Plenum and was increasingly converted into real accomplishments with the construction of the metallurgical combine in Kremikovtsi, the Devnya industrial complex, the Burgas petrochemical combine, the Maritsa-Iztok power complex and hundreds of other heavy industry enterprises.

At the same time, the April economic strategy earmarked the prospects for the stable development of agriculture and the light industry sectors. The cooperativization of agriculture was completed and its consolidation was achieved through the mergers of TKZS [labor cooperative farms] and the building of agroindustrial complexes. Great opportunities were created for the application of science, technology and industrial methods in agricultural production. Steps were taken to develop the food and light industries.

The question of socialist accumulations is a key problem of the April economic strategy.

Our experience proves that it is as short-sighted and harmful to consume virtually everything produced as it is erroneous and dangerous to overload the productive capital with new construction or borrow money which cannot be used. Taking into consideration the strengthening of the material and technical base of society and the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the people and considering the specific socioeconomic and political situation of each individual stage in the country's development, after the April Central Committee Plenum our party engaged in a scientific breakdown of the national income between the Accumulation and Consumption funds. Thus, the relative share of the Accumulations Fund was increased as early as the 3rd Five-Year Plan (1958-1960) to 26.1 percent (compared to 19.8 percent during the 2nd), to 27.4 percent during the 4th (1961-1965) and 31.3 percent during the 5th (1966-1970), after which it was kept on the level of about 25 percent of the national income consumed subsequently.

Thanks to the April economic strategy today the material and technical base of our country is not only large in terms of volume and value (by the end of 1981 the initial value of the productive capital in the national economy totaled 82,780,000,000 leva, or an increase by a factor of 7.6 compared to 1952), but, as a rule, is also better balanced sectorially and territorially.

Regardless of how much we may be pleased with our accomplishments, we perfectly realize that a certain contradiction exists between the new strict requirements which the building of mature socialism creates regarding the production forces and social labor productivity, on the one hand, and the level reached by the material and technical base, on the other.

How is this contradiction manifested?

It is manifested above all in the fact that in its current development level the material and technical base does not offer the possibility of the full manifestation of social relations inherent in the mature socialist society toward the overall identification of its advantages in all realms of life, and, particularly, in terms of reaching a social labor productivity higher than under capitalism; it does not provide all the necessary conditions for the fuller satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

Clearly, the solution of this problem cannot be found through simple quantitative expansion of the base. The existing contradiction can be surmounted only by building a material and technical base consistent with a developed socialist society, which would offer extensive possibilities for the full manifestation of its historical advantages.

The founders of scientific communism did not leave us a ready-made answer to the question of the nature of the material and technical base of mature socialism. Marx and Engels lived during the period of the industrial revolution. They believed that the proletariat would initially win in the economically most developed countries which had reached the highest level of

industrialization and that the building of the new society will begin precisely on that level. The historical process, however, took a different direction. In 1917 the breach of the capitalist system occurred in tsarist Russia which, as Lenin said, was at that time a country with an average economic development. As to Bulgaria, its material and technical base inherited from capitalism was on an even lower level.

Marx and Engels considered the socialist phase essentially in its general features and lines. On the basis of historical experience and the actual conditions and problems faced by the first country which took up the building of socialism, Lenin developed the concept that socialism as an independent phase of the communist society will inevitably have its own material-technical and economic base, and its specific political superstructure. "Communism," he wrote, "...can develop only when socialism has become entirely consolidated."

This Leninist formulation was confirmed by the practice of the building of socialism in the USSR and the other socialist countries. After the victory of the socialist production relations we undertook to build a developed socialist society. This stage was reflected in the new BCP program and the documents of the party's 10th, 11th and 12 congresses. We gradually converted on a wide front to the implementation of this immediate historical task and we faced with its entire urgency and power the need for a clear answer to the following question: What type of material and technical base is consistent with mature socialism?

In applying the Marxist-Leninist approach in the assessment of phenomena and processes in the development of society and in studying the latest achievements in science and technology, our party reached the conclusion that building the material and technical foundations consistent with mature socialism means creating a base on the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress and resting firmly on the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. This alone can lead us to a type of labor productivity which will make the accelerated and harmonious development of the socialist society possible.

As we know, the Marxist-Leninist classics considered reaching higher social labor productivity the main prerequisite for the definitive victory of the new social system. Let us deliberately set aside the nonproduction factors which guarantee the final victory of socialism, including the ability of our countries to defend the socialist world against armed imperialist aggression. Let us consider the question of the material and technical base above all from the viewpoint of labor productivity, which ensures and asserts the victory of mature socialism as a socioeconomic system.

The first victorious socialist revolutions were made in averagely developed and underdeveloped capitalist countries and the new social system set itself the task above all of accomplishing what the bourgeoisie in those countries had been unable to accomplish--reaching the level of the economically most advanced capitalist countries. Hence the famous appeal launched by Georgi Dimitrov at the dawn of building socialism in our country: to accomplish in



two decades that which other countries had taken a century under different circumstances.

Despite all of its profound political, social and economic distinctions from capitalist industrialization, socialist industrialization was accomplished on the same base--the material and technical base of the industrial revolution. Despite adverse starting positions from which the socialist countries had to undertake their development, the distance between them and the most developed capitalist countries has been declining steadily thanks to the tremendous advantages of socialism as a social system.

In recent decades, however, we have witnessed the birth, development and tempestuous penetration into human life of a new revolution caused by progress in science and technology, leading to radical changes in the development of production forces and opening hitherto unsuspected opportunities in all areas of social life. It is with the help of this scientific and technical revolution that we shall lay the material and technical foundations for socialism and communism.

Although at the beginning the scientific and technical revolution offers certain advantages to the more developed capitalist countries, it profoundly clashes with the very foundations of the capitalist social system. There is only one force in this world which can ensure full scope for the productive forces created by the scientific and technical revolution in the interest of the working people. This force is socialism, the socialist social system.

It is from this standpoint that we must formulate and consider the role of labor productivity as a prerequisite for the definitive universal victory of socialism over capitalism. The solution of this problem demands that we harness our entire scientific, scientific and technical and technical and all intellectual forces and to make use of the advantages of socialism and the possibilities of the socialist international cooperation of labor in ensuring the faster and more effective development of the scientific and technical revolution.

As we can see, the formulation of the nature of a material and technical base consistent with mature socialism becomes fundamental to us. It leads to exceptionally important conclusions in terms of practical work. This stipulation must be not only understood and realized by everyone but become a permanent requirement and invariable criterion in the further development of our production forces.

We also clearly realize that building our own material and technical foundations for mature socialism in Bulgaria takes place simultaneously and in a state of organic unity with the comprehensive intensification of the national economy and all realms of social life.

This circumstance is of equally important basic significance in the proper interpretation and efficient management of processes and phenomena related to the development of our society in the stage of building mature socialism.



We know that the intensification problem is not new. It was raised by the party as early as the mid-1960s, at its 9th Congress. On the basis of a profound study of the condition of the national economy the party assessed that possibilities of extensive development had become largely exhausted, which called for charting a course of primarily intensive development. Furthermore, it is precisely the course of intensification which is the most reliable means of upgrading the efficiency of the national economy as a prerequisite for accelerated economic growth and enhancement of the people's living standards.

Subsequently, the task of converting to intensive development was concretized at the 10th and 11th party congresses and considerable work for its practical resolution was undertaken. This yielded certain results: virtually the entire growth of the national income in recent years has been the result of higher social labor productivity.

Nevertheless, the 12th Party Congress concluded that in a number of material production sectors and activities extensive factors continued to predominate. This was confirmed by numerous facts, such as the inefficient utilization of material and manpower resources, slow enhancement of the technological and organizational production standards and insufficient increase in the size of the personnel.

This assessment applies not only to material production but also to science, education, management and a number of activities in the nonproduction area, in which extensive development equally predominates.

Having noted all this, the 12th Party Congress called for converting during the next period and everywhere to a primarily intensive development of the economy and the other realms of social life. Such intensification must be comprehensive, i.e., it must cover not only individual material production sectors but the entire material production and all areas of nonproduction activities. The intensification must be comprehensive. It must not only ensure manpower savings but also the fullest possible utilization of the three elements of the production process: productive capital, labor objects and labor itself. It is on this basis that we must decisively lower production outlays per unit of output to the level reached by the most advanced countries in the respective areas.

Furthermore, intensification must be based on the fast application of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in all national economic realms and activities and all units of the reproduction process.

It is impossible today successfully to lay a material and technical base consistent with mature socialism without making the fullest possible use of intensive factors in all sectors and realms of activity; it is equally impossible to pursue a course of comprehensive intensification without creating and utilizing most efficiently the material and technical base inherent in the mature socialist society.

This is so because when we set ourselves the task of converting to comprehensive intensification we do not mean increasing the stress on the people's

physical and mental forces, which would mean labor intensification. Our purpose is to intensify production and other areas, i.e., to accelerate production and nonproduction processes. At the present stage this can be achieved only with the help of more advanced technical, physical, chemical, biological and other means which are a substitute for the person in carrying out an increasing number of functions without him and faster than him.

Consequently, unity and interdependence in developing the material and technical base of mature socialism itself and expanding comprehensive intensification are manifested in the joint ways and means used in their accomplishment. The main directions and practical approaches in building the material and technical base of the developed socialist society are also the most important directions and approaches in the implementation of the party's course of comprehensive intensification. They are most extensively related to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in material production and the other areas of social life and the accelerated application of the peak achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

What are the main directions and practical approaches to building the material and technical base of mature socialism in Bulgaria?

The 12th Party Congress defined three main such directions:

The first is the comprehensive automation accomplished through the development of automated cybernetic systems in production and other social areas. Today this is our first and most important strategic task in the further development of the material and technical base of mature socialism. During the current 8th Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) we must undertake the extensive application in production lines of decisive importance in the development of our national economy of flexible automation systems with the use of electronics and, particularly, microprocessor equipment. Such automation must cover above all technological processes, particularly in machine building, chemistry, power industry and metallurgy; it must encompass engineering and design; find a more extensive application in economic management, science, health care and other areas. Particular attention should be paid to the use of laser equipment and the development of biotechnologies.

The second main direction is the comprehensive mechanization of the production process. At the present stage it would be unrealistic to set ourselves the objective of applying comprehensive automation in all sectors and production facilities. We have tremendous productive capital in all sectors, which is still far from being obsolete morally and, particularly, physically. Such assets must be improved and utilized most fully. The time has also come to resolve the problem of manual labor: a rather high percentage of people employed in material production are engaged in manual and essentially heavy physical labor, which is also a confirmation of the inefficient utilization of the country's manpower.

The more extensive use of comprehensive mechanization and reduction of heavy manual labor in production will yield not only significant economic but very important social and educational results.

The third main direction is the extensive use of Bulgarian and foreign leading experience. Leading experience is the concentrated result of the mind, energy and creativity of the most noted members of the working class and the engineering and technical cadres, rationalizers and inventors and the best labor collectives. Its application does not require particular capital investments but, nevertheless, leads to a rapid enhancement of technological and organizational production standards. An urgent task in this respect is to develop a special mechanism which, with the help of economic, ideological, organizational and other means will stimulate and encourage those on whom the prompt and efficient application of leading practical experience depends.

Do we have the necessary objective and subjective prerequisites for the successful implementation of the tasks we have set ourselves, particularly in the areas of comprehensive automation and the application of vanguard technologies?

Yes, these prerequisites are available.

To begin with, we have reached a good level and achieved real successes in the development of electronics. Thanks to the far-sightedness shown by the party's Central Committee, we created a firm base for such production and our country has specialized in its development within CEMA. Today Bulgaria accounts for nearly 50 percent of trade in computer equipment among the socialist countries. In terms of exports of electronic goods our country is among the leading in the world on a per capita basis. About 70 percent of the various electronic computer systems we use are produced in our country.

We have achieved good results also in the production of robots and equipment and elements for hydraulic and pneumatic systems, which are also an important prerequisite for the development of automation.

The initial results are also apparent from the application of a variety of automation facilities. The plants in the machine-building sector alone are currently using more than 1,700 highly productive metal-cutting machines with digital and digital-programmed controls, more than 660 machine units and specialized machines and a large number of automated production control systems.

Naturally, this is merely a good beginning. We still face a number of difficulties and unresolved problems in the area of automation.

What are they?

To begin with, we have not directed our main forces and means toward the automation of new technologies and production facilities. According to the approved programs most of the automation facilities must be used in automating and controlling installed production capacities. In a number of cases this means adding modern control methods to obsolete technologies. However, even if we were to put together all automation facilities operating in the world today and applying them to a donkey, its power would not double, triple or quintuple but would remain ordinary one-donkey power. Obviously, what we must

change is the "donkey." Automation facilities should be directed toward new production facilities and technologies as well as the existing capacities where they could be applied more effectively.

We must continue to work on nationwide coordination in the activities of all those on whom automation problems depend. Today no such coordination exists. A state economic trust produces electronic systems; another, robots; another again, hydraulic and pneumatic equipment; and no coordination in their work exists.

We have not fully resolved the question of the element base of electronics, of microelectronics in particular. Yet without strengthening this base we cannot give a major push to the development of automation or maintain firmly the positions we have gained on the international markets.

We are lagging in some important areas of instrument making. In this area we must ensure the further development of the production of automation facilities for technological processes, programmable microprocessor control systems, remote control and remote guidance facilities for railroad stations and junctions and electric power plants, and so on.

Activities related to the development of automation program products are insufficiently developed.

We must increase the production and utilization of industrial robots, manipulators and roboticized technological modules for the automation of hammer-press operations, servicing metal-cutting machines, lining and automating welding operations.

We must develop electronics in the broad meaning of the term. Without contemporary electronics we cannot successfully resolve the problems of the scientific and technical revolution. I already mentioned the major accomplishments we have scored in this area. However, these are yesterday's accomplishments, and we must go forward, to the future. Therefore, the functional and efficient nature of any type of product which exists or is about to be developed in Bulgaria should be confirmed and assessed from the viewpoint of the development of the automated systems.

That is why on the eve of the 12th Congress and after it we undertook the fast development of goods in the fields of electronics and our entire machine building which are directly related to the application of automated technological systems.

The logical question is how to reorganize our work in order to achieve this. The main direction is the creation of flexible automated production systems. We have acquired the necessary conditions and we believe that in two years' time we shall be able to convert to the construction of such systems. We shall begin by completing plants for series automation, followed by plants for flexible automated systems.

Such are the main problems which we can and must resolve in order to provide by the end of the present and beginning of the next five-year plan a wide



front for the development of comprehensive automation and give us serious impetus to the development of intensification in all sectors and realms of activity.

What approaches should be applied in order to reach the objectives we are setting ourselves in the area of the material and technical base?

The first approach is related to the need for a change in our concepts of investment policy and its role in the creation of a material and technical base consistent with mature socialism.

So far the prevailing concept in our country was that production development requires the reconstruction and modernization of existing capacities. We appropriated huge funds for this purpose--some 70 percent of the overall volume of capital investments in material production--and considered this accurate.

However, what do reconstruction and modernization mean as the "main direction" in the development of production? We combined here both reconstruction and modernization of old equipment as well as the expansion of the current enterprises through the addition of new capacities which, in terms of their technological and organizational standards were quite similar to the old. The result was neither fish nor fowl. In frequent cases reconstruction and modernization are nothing more than capital repairs. Generally speaking, our experience proved that no particularly good results are achieved in production intensification, not to mention the application of equipment and technologists consistent with the requirements of building a material and technical base for mature socialism. Furthermore, this approach leads to time and resource losses.

Under these circumstances we had to ask ourselves when do we seriously undertake comprehensive automation and mechanization and the application of vanguard technologies? Were we to postpone all of this for after the year 2000?

Categorically no, comrades! We must undertake the solution of this problem immediately, as of now. In order to accomplish this, we must radically change the formulation of the question itself. We must restructure the breakdown of capital investments; 70 percent of them must be focused on the creation of production capacities on the level of the latest accomplishments of scientific and technical progress.

As to funds appropriated for reconstruction and modernization, here again we shall try to replace old with new equipment, i.e., to see to it that reconstruction and modernization as well lead to a certain increase in labor productivity.

In all cases, the main, the leading direction in the updating of production capacities must be the use of advanced equipment and technology.

This renovation of production capacities must become state policy controlled by the government and the respective ministries. As to reconstruction and

modernization, they must be undertaken by the economic organizations themselves.

Naturally, the radical renovation of the material and technical base is neither quick nor easy to achieve. We must begin by profoundly interpreting the new situation and then gradually undertaking the reorganization, so that by the end of this and during the next five-year plan we make sure that about 70 percent of the capital investments in the material sphere go to essentially new and vanguard technologies, while 30 percent go to the partial reconstruction and updating of existing technologies.

It is imperative to make important changes in our investment policy in the nonproduction area. Here again we must invest as much and in such a way as gradually to develop a material base consistent with mature socialism.

Is this what happens in practice? Unfortunately, it is not.

Let us consider the system of education and, more specifically, our higher technical schools. To say that their material facilities are behind modern requirements would be to say little. In some areas it is almost on the artisan level. Yet our students are being trained to work not for today but for tomorrow, at least 4 to 5 years into the future! How will they, as specialists and managers, control the production process and follow scientific and technical progress if as of today they are not being trained in schools equipped with electronic computers, the latest scientific equipment and experimentation shops? Such bases must be created initially at least in the higher technical institutes and at the Kliment Okhridski Sofia University and, subsequently, in all other higher schools. A corresponding decision to this effect has already been made by the Central Committee Politburo.

A similar situation prevails with the material base in science, particularly within the system of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and in production sectors and facilities in which Bulgaria is specializing within CEMA. We need a scientific base on a world standard, so that our output which we export to the international markets be on a world standard. We have several such institutes, such as the Shipbuilding Institute in Varna, thanks to which we can build ships competitive on all markets.

Or else let us consider the system of management, finances and credit, banking and administrative services. Here a huge administrative apparatus has been concentrated which, our repeated resolutions notwithstanding, has not been substantially reduced. One of the reasons for this is the obsolete base. In some countries there is already a talk of "administrative revolution," and the creation of the "office of the future." Highly productive organizational and technical facilities are being intensively developed and applied with automated systems, networks for essentially new communications facilities, and so on. All such organizational and technical facilities should be taken into consideration in developing the material base of the management system.

The same approach is needed in investments in the material facilities in other areas of the nonproduction sphere. Gradually, in accordance with our

opportunities, but with clear sight, purposefulness and perspective we must develop the material base of health care, culture and so on, as parts of the overall material and technical base of developed socialism.

The second very substantial approach is related to the further concentration and specialization of production throughout the country, or the so-called multiplication approach.

On other occasions I pointed out that the description "multiplication approach" is arbitrary and that it is not the most important. What is important is the need for such an approach, based on the legitimate process of production concentration and specialization. This is an objective economic law which operates under capitalist conditions as well but there it develops without control, and through grave social upheavals.

Recently I was surprised to learn that perhaps one-half of the goods produced in the FRG and Japan come from small or medium-sized enterprises. I decided to learn more about it. It turned out, paradoxical though it might seem on the surface, that this is a form of concentration and specialization. Clearly, the overwhelming share of small and medium-sized enterprises try to survive not by competing with the monopolies but by adapting themselves to their needs. The small and medium-sized enterprises specialize in the production of strictly specified items and assemblies which become part of the end product of the corporation. They receive orders from the corporation and are doomed to inevitable bankruptcy unless the goods they produce are of high quality. All of these enterprises are actually integrated within the systems of the individual monopolies and on the basis of specialization.

Therefore, it is the essence of the multiplication approach that matters above all. In our country it represents a conscious, a scientific programming of the processes of production concentration and specialization within the framework of the entire system, with a view to increasingly concentrating social labor and simultaneously intensifying the division of labor, as a result of which maximal economic efficiency is achieved. To this effect the multiplication approach presumes breaking down the production process and the unification and standardization of products and technologies.

The socialist system has unquestionable advantages compared to capitalism in the areas of concentration and specialization, for the public ownership of production capital creates conditions for processes in this area as well to be conducted on a planned and organized basis. The material and technical base of the developed socialist society is not an automatic sum of material elements of production forces but a scientifically organized material system. The application of the multiplication approach is the most reliable means for the proper development and efficient functioning of this system.

Although such problems have been theoretically well-clared I cannot say that we are satisfied with the practical application of the approach itself. It is true that by the end of the last five-year plan certain results have been achieved. However, since then we have backtracked. The comprehensive developments and programs for the application of the approach in the various

sectors and production facilities, drafted by ministries and economic organizations, were ignored because of lack of systematic management and coordination. The planning workers are either not interested in the multiplication approach or else deal with it on an incidental basis. It is also being neglected by the expert councils which approve plans for the reconstruction, updating and construction of new plans. The main reason, however, for the small effect of its application so far has been the investment policy which has directed most of the capital investments into reconstruction and modernization of existing capacities.

Multiplication is not a campaign but an approach which yields multiplying results, a method of management leading to the successful solution of concentration and specialization problems on a national scale. The plans of ministries and economic organizations, which were drafted 5 to 6 years ago, must be updated. Henceforth this must take place periodically, in order to reflect the new requirements and changing production conditions.

The problem of coordinating programs in the area of concentration and specialization is of prime importance. All produced items, even a small nut, should be included in a catalogue. We must know precisely where it will be produced in order to stop its production anywhere else. As state policy, such activity must be implemented not indifferently but on a national level, by the government and its organs and, above all, through the plan for the socioeconomic development of the country.

The state standards are among the basic levers in the implementation of state policy in concentration and specialization. Unfortunately, they are still not consistent with the requirements of the multiplication approach, which must range from raw materials to finished products. In order to be able to go to the international market our national standards must not only contribute to the development of our economy but be consistent with those of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and, in general, the world standards.

A better solution must be found to the question of the prices of blanks, parts, assemblies and semifinished goods produced by the specialized enterprises. We must remember that their high prices encouraged consuming enterprises to produce them themselves. Large series specialized production can and must cost less and be highly profitable. The work of the specialized enterprises must be assessed in accordance with the contribution to increasing the national income. An output which does not increase the national income should be stopped. The national income is the yardstick and no other yardstick exists or could exist!

The next approach which I would like to discuss applies to the accelerated application of the achievements of contemporary scientific and technical progress.

I shall discuss in greater detail the main problems related to the role of science in another lecture on the development of spiritual culture. At this point I shall touch upon a few organizational-economic aspects of our scientific and technical policy.



As you know, the 12th Party Congress called for "ensuring a major upturn in the practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements."

Our entire previous experience in this area proves that the solution of such an exceptionally important problem calls for the creation and utilization of an effective application mechanism which will stimulate and urge both scientific research collectives as well as consumers of scientific and technical results, particularly the economic organizations and labor collectives, quickly to master and apply the latest achievements of science and leading experience. The socialist state must have in its hands secure means with which it could efficiently influence anyone on whom the steady enhancement of the scientific and technical standards and effectiveness of the production process depend. The most reliable and effective of these means are material incentive and economic coercion, the systematic application of the principle of material interest.

For a number of years work has been done in our country on the development of an efficient mechanism for the application of scientific and technical achievements. This is explainable, for the problems are exceptionally complex and require comprehensive interpretation.

The Regulation of the Economic Mechanism, which includes important elements of the application mechanism as well, was enacted at the start of 1982. It clarifies the functions of ministries and other central departments, the obligation of which is to formulate and implement state scientific and technical policy in the corresponding sectors. Great attention is also being paid to the question of economic incentives, particularly through the prices of the new and improved items, such as compensating for the increased expenditures during the period of mastering the new item. The regulation also offers a better solution to the important problem of economic risk, which is inevitable in any new development. Today economic risks are guaranteed with special funds set up on the national and the sectorial levels and, particularly important, the level of the economic organization.

When we speak of developing an efficient mechanism for the application of scientific and technical accomplishments we must bear in mind that such a mechanism cannot be created once and for all. It will inevitably require corrections and supplements in order to be updated in accordance with changing production conditions.

Information services play a major role in the accelerated application of scientific and technical progress in production. Under contemporary conditions, information on the achievements of science and technology and leading global and domestic experience are in the nature of a specific resource which must be mastered and utilized most fully. That is why we are working on building a widespread information system. Its units will also engage in intensive international exchange and trade in equipment, technological and organizational development, and others.

Whatever type of information we may accumulate, it would remain inactive unless it reaches its addressees. That is why the task of enhancing the

information standards of leading and performing cadres and developing in them the need to seek the necessary information and maximally use it in their work becomes particularly important. The shaping of such qualities is no longer an individual cadre problem but a social necessity, a mandatory prerequisite for the successful application of their functions on the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress. That is why here we must combine training and education with means of economic influence and coercion. This will be useful both to the production process and the cadres.

Today we must thoroughly support rationalizers and inventors. We must fight an irreconcilable struggle against routine and conservatism and administrative, mental and other barriers which block scientific and technical progress. We stressed the decisive role of individual and collective material incentive in the struggle for rapid application of scientific and technical accomplishments. However, the economic factor not only does not exclude but, conversely, presumes and demands the fullest possible utilization of factors such as the upbringing and training of the working people, their organized involvement in the mass movement for technical creativity, and the moral incentive and social recognition of their contribution to the progressive development of production. Not a single one among us, whatever his activities, should forget that we are building a socialist society and that the conscientious attitude of the citizens toward labor and the multiplication of socialist property is a powerful motive force of development and a cornerstone in building a new individual and a new society.

The next question. I shall discuss our approach to the further development of the sectorial and territorial structure of the national economy.

Our party is guided by the understanding that this problem must be resolved from the viewpoint of the planned and harmonious laying of the material and technical foundations for mature socialism. However important it may be at the present stage to upgrade the technological standard of the production process, it is equally necessary properly to shape and direct the sectorial specialization of the economy and to ensure the most expedient territorial deployment of production forces.

One of the major objectives of the April economic policy is the building of a contemporary sectorial structure of the national economy consistent not only with the natural customs and traditions of the country but the international division of labor; it must be consistent with the need of ensuring high manpower employment but also to take into consideration the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and to contribute to reaching high economic and social efficiency in the national economy and to the further enhancement of people's living standards.

The implementation of this objective was no easy matter. We had to surmount a number of difficulties stemming both from shortages of raw and other materials for the most promising sectors and production facilities and the improper formulations during the period of the cult of personality. However, despite the difficulties, within a short historical time Bulgaria created a highly effective sectorial economic structure in which machine building and

the power and chemical industries, i.e., sectors which are the material foundations of scientific and technical progress and an important factor in the accelerated development of the entire national economy, play a leading role.

We shall continue to strengthen and enrich our accomplishments in this area. We shall continue to develop at a faster pace sectors and production lines which create facilities for automation, mechanization, intensification and intellectualization of all sectors and realms of activity. At the same time, we shall pay great attention to sectors and production lines which meet the needs of the population for high quality goods and increase our possibilities of participating even more efficiently in the international division of labor, the socialist above all.

Our concern for the development of agriculture will be equally high. We shall strengthen and modernize its material base through the application of the latest achievements of science and technology, selection, biotechnologies, chemistry and general engineering; we shall modern irrigation systems, develop agricultural machine building, and so on.

The very enumeration of these basic elements of the territorial factor proves its tremendous importance to the overall development of the country. Underestimating the territorial factor or even some of its individual elements always results in damages which affect not only the population of the corresponding territory but society at large. Such are, for example, the adverse economic and social consequences of wasting the land, depopulating some settlements and areas, worsening the demographic structure of the population, the incomplete use of rural housing facilities, environmental pollution and others.

That is precisely why, without belittling the significance of the sectorial principle, at the present stage it is particularly necessary to make the fullest possible use of the territorial possibilities in the successful solution of the major problems of our overall development, including the enhancement of sectorial efficiency. In accordance with the requirements of the multiplication approach, the lines of strategic production facilities must be localized in such a way as to lead to the gradual establishment of developed territorial-production complexes; production-economic relations must be made more efficient and the most favorable conditions must be created for the efficient utilization of natural and economic opportunities in the individual territorial units.

This makes more necessary control over the efficient utilization of territorial resources, the land, water, engineering facilities, manpower, and others in particular, to be concentrated in the hands of a single manager--the people's councils of obshtinas and okrugs.

The further advancement of the territorial structure leads to problems which have remained insufficiently developed from their theoretical and managerial aspects.

One of them has to do with the differentiated rentals in the socialist economy. It would be proper for the entire system of prices, withholdings, taxes and fees to be reorganized in such a way that the influence of the differentiated rental may be considered more fully.

Another topical problem is that of the economic efficiency of the development of production facilities and activities in the large cities and agglomerations. It must be clear to everyone that unless economic means are used to stop the process of unrestrained expansion of the large centers, within the shortest possible time their infrastructure and engineering facilities will prove to be inadequate to service them and that serious difficulties will face the population and the state.

Finally, let me say a few words on the role of our participation in the international division of labor, particularly in socialist economic integration, in laying the material and technical foundations for developed socialism.

According to the specialists, when the ratio between foreign trade and national income is 25:100, the economy of that country is considered open. In our country the ratio has already reached 90:100. Consequently, the Bulgarian economy is a highly open one. This is a very typical feature of our national economy, from which a number of exceptionally important features of our economic development stem.

Our participation in the international division of labor enables us always to have access to the latest achievements of the most developed countries and world scientific and technical progress, to procure the new equipment and vanguard technologies, raw materials and materials we need with a view to developing our material base and the economy. Our participation in the international division of labor, on the other hand, is a prerequisite for specializing in sectors and production facilities for which we have the most favorable conditions, for increasing the series production and improving the technical and economic parameters of specialized items, and for upgrading the efficiency of the overall national economy.

The intensification and expansion of our participation in the international socialist economic integration on a bilateral and multilateral basis with the CEMA-member countries and, above all, the intensification of comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, will remain the cornerstone of our foreign economic policy.

The party and the people realize that we would be unable to pursue the strategic course of comprehensive intensification of the economy and steady enhancement of its efficiency and we could not build the material and technical foundations for mature socialism in our country without relying on the powerful production, raw material and scientific and technical potential of the USSR.

Socialist economic integration is entering a new stage currently. The approximately equal production possibilities of the socialist countries and the satisfaction of their prime needs require, on the one hand, the production of



high-quality goods only and, on the other, the most effective type of production from the viewpoint of the entire socialist commonwealth. This leads to the conclusion of vital importance to us to the effect that in the future we can be successful on the socialist market by exploiting goods consistent with high-quality and efficiency requirements.

Let me point out here that the structure of exports and imports is of prime importance to the effective development of our foreign economic relations.

We shall continue to import the fuels, raw materials and materials we need, new equipment, vanguard technologies, and a variety of high-quality consumer goods. This is natural and unavoidable. However, our imports will pursue a line of maximal economy and expediency. We cannot allow ourselves to purchase from the foreign market any more than what we badly need or can use, and above all, more than we can pay for. Any other approach would be a characteristic of irresponsibility and would face the country with major difficulties, for sooner or later procurements must be paid for and with interest.

In order to import we must have high-quality exports, firm sources of foreign currency. The main prerequisite to achieve this is to guarantee the production of export goods of high quality and proper competitiveness, steadily to enhance the export resources of the country, taking the needs and criteria of the international market into consideration. In displaying flexibility based on the rapidly changing trade situation, we must try to assume firm positions in the import lists of countries and areas.

As to the export structure, all of us know that at some point we gave priority to the development of transport machine building, the production of electric and motor cars in particular, which we exported mainly to the socialist countries. They accounted for 50 percent of our entire machine-building exports. We then subsequently developed electronics as a leading sector and penetrated important markets with it. It is particularly necessary now to define the precise first, second and third sectors on the strengthening of which we shall concentrate our forces and funds in order to ensure our long-term export possibilities.

In order to ensure the success of our export policy, it is particularly important for our producers, represented by their economic organizations, always to feel the pulse of the international market, to study the circumstances and to be familiar with the requirements of foreign customers. The practice of some people producing, others purchasing and still others trading on the foreign market has no justification. We must try to relate our output to domestic and, particularly, international trade. The plants, not to mention trusts and combines, should know where and under what circumstances their goods are being marketed. Lenin's requirement that socialist producers must learn to trade in a businesslike manner and effectively is very relevant to us.

Such is, comrades, the stipulation of the BCP on the nature of the material and technical base of mature socialism and the ways to develop it in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

## Lecture No 2

### Development of Socioeconomic Relations and National Economic Management

Comrades:

We accurately consider laying the material and technical foundations for mature socialism our prime task. At the same time, we ascribe equal importance to the further development and advancement of socialist social relations. That is because the main features which characterize any society, including a socialist one, are its technical and economic structure and production and distribution relations within which the development of production forces takes place. These relations are the foundation on which the system of socialist social relations grows, develops and functions.

It is not possible to cover the entire wealth of problems which we are resolving in connection with the contemporary development of socialist social relations within a single lecture. This is not my task. I shall discuss only three main problems of determining significance.

The first is the problem of socialist ownership and the related problems of the owner and the manager and the interrelationship between them.

The second is the problem of the conscious utilization of the objective commodity-monetary relations in accordance with the stage reached in our socioeconomic development.

The third is the problem of the further advancement of socialist management on the basis of new relations in production and labor.

In their dialectical unity these three problems define the content of the new economic approach and its mechanism, which we developed and have been applying in recent years.

I have repeatedly spoken on such problems. To us, however, their significance today is so great that we shall repeatedly continue to discuss them.

#### 1. For a Single Socialist Ownership by the Whole Nation

As we know, the BCP did not undertake immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution the elimination of the private exploitative ownership in industry. However, it did not leave the economic initiative in the hands of

the representatives of the bourgeoisie but gradually restricted their ownership and, during the autumn of 1947, nationalized industry. This laid the foundations of state ownership. Production concentration and specialization were the leading directions in its development.

By the end of the 1960s successes in the development of industry enabled us to establish large economic trusts. These were powerful economic units which were able autonomously to resolve the main problems of their respective sectors. This course proved to be correct and subsequently offered us the possibility of enriching the forms of the economic trusts through the building of combines, establishing corporations, and others. In 1980 the state economic organizations, which are the main units in the economic structure of society, accounted for more than 97 percent of the overall industrial output.

Our party approached creatively the socialist reorganization of agriculture as well. Labor cooperative farms were set up. Petty-commodity private agricultural production was eliminated but the ownership of the land by the toiling peasants was retained. We considered the development of cooperative socialist ownership as following the line of further socialization of productive capital. To this effect we consolidated the TKZS [labor cooperative farms], combined them with the state farms, integrated them vertically with enterprises engaged in the processing of agricultural raw materials, and on this basis created the agroindustrial complexes, which are united within the National Agroindustrial Union. This radically changed the nature of cooperative ownership. It is true that it has not become ownership by the whole people as is state ownership. However, no longer is it the old cooperative ownership. Essentially, today ownership in agriculture is also ownership by the whole people with some features of cooperative ownership.

The process of interpenetration and enrichment of state and cooperative ownership was accomplished through the large standardization of production methods and, particularly, the application of industrial production methods in agriculture. We also standardized the forms of the economic production organization and created an identical attitude toward the plan, the budget, and so on. An identical principle governing the formation and distribution of income was applied. This created possibilities of equalizing the conditions under which all people employed in the national economy--workers, employees and farm workers--enjoy the basic social benefits such as paid leave, pensions, aid and insurance in labor accidents, maternity, and so on. This is a great historical gain of the BCP and the Bulgarian people.

All of this gives us the legitimate right to say that the cooperative and state forms of ownership have already become very close to each other and an accelerated process of rapprochement and reciprocal enrichment is continuing to take place between them. As assigned by the people, the socialist state is the true owner of both forms of property.

However, the following question immediately arises here. How and in what way will the socialist ownership of the state operate and develop? Does this new level of socialization demand the entire centralization and management of economic activities?

The answer which we can provide on the basis of our experience is that the state socialist ownership not only enables us but demands of us to make major changes in the relations and mechanisms of managing property. Such changes cannot fail to pertain most directly to the role and the rights of the managers, for in addition to having an owner, which is the state, socialist property also has a direct manager, represented by the respective labor collectives and the working people who work in economic organizations and who use and manage this property. This is the logical step which must be taken in order to make clearer this major theoretical and practical problem.

With this formulation, priority is given to the question of the correlation between the rights and responsibilities of the owner and the manager. Heated scientific discussions are taking place in our country on this matter. I would like to see them continue. Science cannot operate without discussions and it is through them and within them that scientific truth is born.

Here I would like to discuss a few questions.

The first applies to the nature of the socialist state as the owner.

The socialist state represents the entire society, the people, as the owner of the property of the whole people. The functions of the labor collective as the manager of a given national property are inseparably related to that of the state as its owner. Therefore, we do not split socialist property, which remains the property of the whole nation, the single and indivisible property of society. At the same time, by making the labor collectives its managers, it is not separated or alienated from those who use the productive capital and are concerned with its preservation, efficient utilization and multiplication in their own interest and in that of the state and the people.

Such is, in our view, the accurate Marxist-Leninist view of the relationship between owner and manager in the present stage in the development of our socialist society.

As the owner, the state has the right, obligation and responsibility to develop and multiply socialist property; to give the type of direction in its immediate use which will guarantee the preservation of the main balances of the country and the necessary development pace; to ensure the effective management of the socialist property by the labor collectives and economic organizations, and thus steadily to enhance the material, spiritual and cultural standards of the working people.

The single ownership by the whole people offers tremendous advantages. The socialist state gains the possibility of concentrating the resources among the main directions leading to the creation of an efficient economic structure which, in turn, accelerates the process of socialist accumulation. It can pursue a unified social policy, thus regulating and ensuring the harmonious development of all social groups and strata. Finally, the socialist state can make full use of the power of the liberated, the emancipated labor in the interest of the individual and society.



The second important problem deals with the qualitatively new role of the labor collective as the manager of the socialist property.

In order to manage the socialist property, the state systematically creates economic organizations of different scope, type and nature. They are the foundation of the organizational structure of the national economy. The economic organizations ensure the direct combination of all the elements of the reproduction process. In the case of the social relations which have developed in our country, the management of socialist property is increasingly assumed by the labor collectives of the economic organizations. This enables us to claim that the labor collective is the true manager of socialist property.

As we know, the labor collective is a community of people related through common objectives, common toil, result of and payment for their labor, and interrelationships in the course of the labor process.

However, the labor collective in our society cannot exist and, consequently, be a manager outside the framework of a specific socialist organization--economic or noneconomic--or outside of any of its subdivisions--the enterprise, shop, section, brigade and so on. The economic organization is the form of existence of the labor collective and the labor collective is the main social content of the economic organization. In turn, the labor collective is not only a social formation engaged in purely performing production-economic activities. As represented by its general meeting or meeting of representatives, it is also an organ of the corresponding economic organization. In this manner the will of the labor collective becomes the will of the organization itself. This distinguishing feature of the labor collectives in our country and this status will be gradually legislatively codified and increasingly applied in practical work. They will be the foundations of the new labor code as well.

The right to manage socialist property faces the labor collective with major responsibilities and creates new social obligations. The most important among them are the following:

Accurately to implement the state assignments and contractual obligations toward other socialist organizations. The sanctions for their violation have already reached the full amount of damages caused and must be absorbed entirely by the funds of the economic organization, including the collective's wages.

It must provide self-control and self-discipline so that the production process may take place under the conditions of the best possible level of organization and the greatest efficiency. As in the past, the state will strictly supervise the observance of laws and normative stipulations related to end results. However, the internal socialist organization of labor will be a matter for the labor collective itself.

It must maintain an atmosphere of creative activeness and mutual aid and respect for everyone's labor; it must be always concerned with the life of its members.

The role and significance of the economic manager--brigade leader, shop chief, enterprise director, or director of the economic organization--increases along with the role of the labor collective. The enhancement of the role of the labor collective must be combined with strengthening the authority of the economic manager and the one-man command principle. This calls for a clear demarcation of competences in decision-making and strict and unequivocal procedures and stages of reciprocal control.

We must guarantee the mandatory observance by all of the decisions of the collective organs of the labor collective, which fall under their exclusive competence. We must apply more extensively the competitive, the elected principle, and the direct reporting of managers to the organs of the labor collective.

At the same time, we must bear in mind that the economic manager represents the state to the labor collective. It is precisely he who represents the respective economic organization or its branch in signing contracts and in economic interrelationships. It is also he who is directly responsible for the observance of state interests. In that sense his decisions are mandatory to the collective.

We must bear in mind that contradictions between the owner and manager are not excluded.

Contradictions may arise if, on the one hand, the labor collectives are given rights as managers of socialist property and, on the other, the state, the owner, violates or emasculates these rights through orders or amendments and supplements to regulations.

Contradictions may arise also when the labor collective fails to exercise its rights and obligations in their dialectical interconnection, avoids its responsibilities and does not sufficiently direct its efforts toward the most efficient management of productive capital.

Neither type of such contradictions is antagonistic, for the basic interests of the state and the labor collectives coincide and call for the strengthening and enrichment of socialist property.

Consequently, contradictions may appear when the rights and interests of the owner or the manager are violated.

The third important problem deals with the functions of the conurbation systems and their leading organs--the obshtina people's councils--given the interrelationships which are now developing between the owner and the manager of socialist property.

We built the conurbation systems so that settlements and the territories between settlements within which the comprehensive and constructive human activities take place may develop in a state of organic relationship. This does not mean in the least that even part of the socialist property is divided among the obshtinas. In the past we had obshtina pasturegrounds,

obshtina forests, and so on. It is not our intention to return to that system. Socialist social property, state property is one and indivisible from the production and territorial aspects.

The new feature now is the conversion of the people's councils into managers of the conurbation system. On a broad social base, and in close interconnection with the labor collectives of the enterprises located on the territory of the conurbation system, the people's councils must set up auxiliary enterprises, studios and workshops, obtain bank loans for organizing production and servicing activities for the population, and participate in various associations with economic organizations and other conurbation systems, in resolving problems of joint interest, and so on.

It is true that we still face a number of unresolved problems related to the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism on the territorial level and in close relation to the activities of obshtinas in the nonproduction area. It is equally true, however, that a number of bureaucratic obstacles, sluggishness and lack of understanding exist, which must be surmounted as soon as possible.

Reliance on the public and the extensive application of the sociostate principle and given priority to direct over representative democracy are the means which will ensure the careful management and multiplication of all the resources of the conurbation system.

At the same time, it is exceptionally important now to intensify the functions of enterprise labor collectives in terms of their respective conurbations system. The labor collective carries out its activities within the territory of a given conurbation system. It is from that system that its personnel mainly comes and it is there that the families of the members of the collective live. It is this strong tie which determines the natural obligations of the labor collectives toward the development of the conurbation system, particularly in the elaboration and implementation of its comprehensive plans, the development of its infrastructure, the functioning of its self-satisfaction system, and so on.

In the case of Bulgaria, with its limited resources and long traditions in individual labor, the use of private property in developing an auxiliary farm, providing consumer services or engaging in petty commerce plays an important role. It is a question of private property restricted mainly to ownership of petty productive capital which neither presumes nor allows the use of hired labor. The purpose is for the private economy to mobilize the reserves of our socialist economy and society through the additional work of the population during its leisure time.

Does the existence of private auxiliary enterprises threaten the socialist social system? Does this threaten the nature of socialist production relations?

Clearly, it does not! There is no danger whatsoever for the private enterprise to undermine socialist production relations in a country in which the

public ownership of productive capital predominates in all sectors and where large state and cooperative organizations control trade and services. On the contrary, under such circumstances private ownership must be considered a natural extension and addition of socialist social ownership and a necessary prerequisite for the fuller labor realization of the individual. In this respect we acquired positive experience several years long.

Individual production activities play a significant role wherever production processes are less mechanized or are harder to mechanize. The basic needs of the national economy and the people are met by the industrial enterprises and modern agroindustrial complexes. The private plots as well would be unable to achieve any kind of significant results in their own area without the decisive help of the public farms, which supply them with materials, chemicals, equipment, and so on.

The additional labor invested in the private and the public farms is an essential reserve in obtaining additional products and additional labor income for the population, for which reason it must be encouraged and respected. It is high time to eliminate the economic, mental and legal obstructions and to provide a broader scope for the participation of private property in production and services.

The main improvements which must be made today are, on the one hand, the mechanisms for organically relating on an economic basis the private activities with those of the economic organizations and the conurbation systems in terms of the self-satisfaction and production of consumer goods and comprehensive public services, etc., and, on the other, to improve the mechanisms for social control over the activities of individual producers, for the unity among rights, obligations and responsibilities fully apply to the private enterprises as well.

These are some of the basic problems related to the development of socialist property in our country and the concept of its owner and manager.

## 2. On Commodity-Monetary Relations Under Socialism and the Systematic Application of the Economic Approach

Comrades:

One of the main theoretical problems of socialist political economy, which has long been the subject of lively discussions, is that of commodity-monetary relations and related economic levers. This is a problem of tremendous practical importance to our party's overall economic policy. The concept of the objective existence and specific nature of commodity-monetary relations under socialism is the base for the ways and means which we shall use in production, distribution and consumption and through which we shall stimulate the activities of labor collectives and individuals.

The stage of building a mature socialist society is characterized by the effect of commodity-monetary relations, the law of value, profits and economic levers based on them. We cannot build a public economy without taking



into consideration this objective reality and observing the requirements of the objective economic laws along the entire chain of production, distribution and consumption.

Commodity-monetary relations also create objective prerequisites for the existence of a number of negative phenomena in the human mind and behavior. This also must be taken into consideration. Our task, however, is not to eliminate the effect of commodity-monetary relations or skip the present stage. This is impossible. It is voluntarism and pure utopia.

Our task is different: to convert commodity-monetary relations and the law of value into a powerful incentive in the development of socialist ownership, the growth of the social wealth and the enhancement of the people's living standards.

As we know, commodity-monetary relations are characteristic of the capitalist production method. However, under capitalism they do not operate as they do under socialism. The single nationwide ownership and national economic planning substantially changed the content of categories such as money, profit and price. That is why there is no place where we could borrow ready-made prescriptions for their use as economic levers. With its unscrupulous exploitation of man by man capitalism neither is nor could be an example for us.

Our task is increasingly to master the economic laws of socialism, turn them into our allies, and use them in improving production and ensuring the progress of socialist society.

That is what we had in mind in developing and applying the new economic approach, the new methods of economic management and the new forms of organization and management of our society. The new economic approach is an integral system of economic methods, means of influence and control and forms of organization, a system which covers production, distribution and management. This approach, as I have repeatedly stressed, has nothing in common with the concepts of the spontaneously operating market mechanism. Its objective is to make the economic organization of society fully consistent with the effect of the objective laws of socialism.

Before we could reach the development of this approach, for almost 20 years we engaged in extensive economic experimentation. We analyzed our shortcomings and made a close study of the experience of the other fraternal socialist countries, the rich Soviet experience above all. We shall continue to refine and develop this approach further.

Consequently, the new economic approach reflects the objective requirements of Bulgarian social development at the present stage. It is also the result of the development of theoretical party thinking and proof of its maturity.

Let me repeat: the qualitatively new concept of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager of socialist property is of decisive importance in shaping this approach and its proper understanding, implementation and advancement.

The main purpose of the new economic approach which was developed and is being applied currently is public production intensification. At the present stage we cannot achieve an intensification of processes in the national economy without direct economic incentive and economic coercion involving the use of economic levers.

The new economic approach means above all giving production an economic incentive.

Until recently the main incentive in ensuring the necessary volume and variety of output was the planned assignment, administratively defined from above. The producer was interested in fulfilling the plan but not in the marketing of the output.

The new economic approach ensures on an economic basis an inseparable tie between production and the domestic and international markets. This, as we shall see subsequently, does not reduce in the least the role of centralized planning but is an objective prerequisite in the formulation of realistic plans and in helping to surmount objectivism in planning.

The task now is to eliminate the division between the production and marketing processes; it is to ensure conditions for a direct "clash" between the producer and the market--domestic and international. Without this we can neither upgrade production quality nor update our output. In other words, we must create and maintain the type of mechanism of economic incentive in which the production process will immediately react to the needs of the market and trade will shape new demands on the basis of new production developments.

Incredible though it might seem, so far the trade organizations were not interested in having a great abundance and variety on the market, for if commodities were in short supply and without variety, everything was sought and everything was purchased. The trade organizations are the rulers of the market, for they are the only ones to offer goods. The new economic approach presumes a gradual lifting of the monopoly rights of individual organizations and departments in the fields of trade and services.

The new economic approach and its mechanism make it possible for every producer to reach the consumer directly. Satisfying the needs for varied and high-quality goods becomes the organic requirement of the economic organization so that it can implement its economic policy most fully at the present stage. Maintaining direct relations with the consumer is not only the right but the obligation of each individual economic organization.

It is thus that conditions are also created for the development of the economic competition among production, trade, procurement and servicing organizations. The orientation of the producer toward the market and marketing is already yielding its initial results, clearly reflected in the people's consumption. We must now undertake also the overall improvement of the marketplace policy of the economic organizations and the reconstruction of the entire--domestic and international--commercial front.

The new feature in the adopted economic mechanism is the systematic and comprehensive application of cost-accounting and its core--self-support.

Cost-accounting and self-support are nothing new in themselves. They are an objective economic necessity facing any commodity production; they are a principle in socialist economic management, which we are now fully applying under our country's specific conditions.

We have always tried to observe this Leninist principle on the scale of the country. All we have achieved so far is the result of the work of the people, of strict savings and constant comparisons between income and expenditures. We have always remembered that the violation of cost-accounting, spending more than is produced, and borrowing without guaranteed repayment means leading the country to an economic crisis and inevitably lowering the living standards of the citizens. It is absolutely certain that one of the main reasons for our economic and social stability and the rapid and comprehensive upsurge achieved by the country and its growing international reputation is the fact that our national economy is profitable and that our socialist state, the Bulgarian People's Republic, operates on a cost-accounting basis and full self-support.

The new feature now is that we would like to organize on a cost-accounting basis not only the country as a whole but each individual economic organization, branch, brigade, job and individual worker. It is a question both of production and other activities and of a truly consistent cost-accounting and real self-support everywhere and in all things.

We consider cost-accounting and self-support necessary means for intensification of production and all activities, a source for bringing to light reserves and an indicator of the actual contribution of the individual units and working people; we consider cost-accounting the economic foundation for the systematic implementation of the principles of social justice in our society.

The application of the principles of cost-accounting and self-support should be established first in the brigade--the brigade of a new type which is most fully consistent with our view that the labor collective is the manager of a given piece of socialist property and is profoundly interested in its development.

When we began to apply the economic approach in its integrity in material production, we accurately drew the attention to the operation of brigades of a new type and the application of cost-accounting and self-support in the brigades. The application of the new principles has not as yet entirely covered the larger units, such as enterprises, combines and trusts. We are only now beginning to apply the principles of cost-accounting and self-support in the nonproduction area. We have not made great progress as yet in this respect in the conurbation systems. That is why the task now is to gradually extend the application of cost-accounting and self-support to all areas and units in the national economy.

Another essential feature in the new economic approach is the fuller utilization of economic levers, such as profits, prices, interests, credits, taxes, fees, etc.

On the basis of all of these economic levers, it is important to us now to know and take into consideration the amount of net income, i.e., the national income which is being created in the individual brigade, enterprise or association. What is the hourly output of the individual worker? What commodity output is produced by the individual worker? and so on.

Today profit emerges in the foreground as the basic economic lever through which the state can influence economic activities. The mandatory systems for forming and distributing profits and state taxation are exerting most direct economic pressure on upgrading production efficiency and, at the same time, ensuring the coordination among the interests of society, the labor collective and the individual working person.

Everyone clearly understands that it is a question of profit based on the result of conserving labor, raw materials, materials and fuel, even better utilization of the equipment and the production of better quality and, consequently, more sought-after and valued goods and, naturally, the ability to trade on the foreign markets.

Profit is the main source of socialist accumulation and increase of nationwide socialist property. The increased amount of profit is a necessary prerequisite for ensuring expanded socialist reproduction and enhancing the well-being of the working people. Profits guarantee the existence of the social funds for health care, culture, the armed forces, social measures, pensions, and so on. They are the main source for the steady increase in collective and individual income, for our working people directly participate in the distribution of profits earned by the economic organization and its branches.

According to the principles of the economic approach, after the proper deductions have been made, the balance of the profit is handled by those who have earned it and, naturally, according to the existing legal stipulations. No one has the right to take from the labor collective its legitimately accrued share of the profits. This is the basic incentive in the economic approach and should it be violated all other incentives become inoperative.

Prices are the next very essential economic lever. They are a very delicate lever, if I may say so, which we have still not learned how to use properly. Prices are the main prerequisite for the proper application of cost-accounting, self-support and the entire economic approach. They are a means of influencing production, regulating the balance between production and consumption and guiding consumption itself. At the same time, prices have an objective base --the socially necessary expenditures. The disregarding of this base in price setting is sooner or later paid for dearly with disproportions in the economy, the development of an inefficient structure, draining of the national income, and so on.

Let us submit that we have still not entirely and fully resolved the question of prices.

It is true that we drafted and implemented a number of important price reforms. The necessary coordination between retail prices and the socially



necessary production outlays, harmonized with our social policy, is taking place systematically and without upheavals. This is an exceptional accomplishment by our party. However, we have not as yet learned to control the interrelationship among prices, production and consumption. We must develop the type of organization of the price-setting process which would enable us to observe, analyze and rapidly react to change.

Thus, for example, the impact of non-price-related factors--subsidies--which burden exceptionally the national financial balances--remains high. Nor have we found a proper correlation among production prices in the various areas. As I pointed out in my previous lecture, the high prices of procurements, parts, assemblies and semifinished goods force the consuming enterprises to produce them themselves, thus radically undermining the principle of the multiplication approach.

Essentially, with the application of the economic approach we do not discover any type of new economic lever or economic means of influence. What is new is a requirement of using all economic levers within a single complex and for a single purpose. Economic levers are fully concentrated in the hands of the state, through which it can pursue a unified economic policy in the interests of society and without direct administrative interference in the activities of the economic organization. At the same time, the effect of these levers is felt in depth as well, reaching the brigade and the individual, thus ensuring the economic unity of the overall reproduction process.

The new planning technology is the heart of the new economic approach. This is because the method used in drafting the plan and the type, number and scope of the plan indicators predetermine the effect of all economic levers. The purpose of the new planning technology is to provide scope for the direct economic incentive and economic influences rather than administrative impact. Planning problems will be considered subsequently, in relation to improving national economic management.

The distribution mechanism, which must ensure the more systematic application of the socialist principle of payment according to the quantity and quality of labor, is an exceptionally important element of the new economic approach. The basic requirements which guide us in drafting and improving this mechanism are, in their essential lines, the following:

The enterprise as an economic unit and the individual working people in the enterprise must be interested in the steady expansion and renovation of their output as a prerequisite for increasing the enterprise's income and, hence, the individual incomes of the personnel.

The earning of income by an enterprise and the share of which goes to the wage fund under the conditions of the socialist equivalent exchange should be based on the social assessment of the collective's labor. The preliminary social assessment included in the plan has its final test at the marketplace.

The wage, which is entirely provided by the enterprise's income, must grow in accordance with the growth of public labor productivity, after sufficient funds have been withheld for production expansion.

The wage for the individual member of the collective should depend not only on the results of his individual labor but the results of the collective work of the subunit and the enterprise.

The practical application of these principles means that the wage must become the basic incentive for efficient work and for the economic responsibility of the labor collective and the individual for the results of individual and collective labor. That is why the wage is a resulting, a residual value. Withholdings are made from the net income created by the economic organization of the funds owed to the state, of what is necessary for the reproduction process and upgrading production capacities and renovating the production process; the balance is distributed in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor. Yes, the residual nature of the wage fund is a powerful incentive in the struggle for a higher income from the activities of the economic organization.

The main feature now is the combination of the philosophy of the economic approach with reality. This encounter neither is nor will be easy. There will be, and already are, errors, weaknesses, and items which were not seen or thought out in their entirety. However, this philosophy is accurate and must gradually become part of the practice of our economic life.

### 3. The New Economic Approach and the Further Enhancement of National Economic Management

The current normative base in economic management is created by the economic mechanism, which was developed in accordance with the principles and requirements of the new economic approach. This mechanism governs the rules of the "game," so to say. It is within the framework of these regulations that any labor collective can act as it deems fit and most proper. The utilization of objective possibilities and the extent to which actual interests are realized and rights and obligations exercised will depend on the individual managers and labor collectives. Favorable conditions have already been legally created for activeness and initiative-mindedness on all levels, although this problem has not been entirely resolved. The subjective factor, as we have repeatedly noted, is still lagging in a number of respects.

Let us be clear on one point: I have neither the reason nor the intention to deny the great accomplishments and progress made in managing the national economy. However, comrades, the building of mature socialism raises stricter requirements regarding social management.

The first requirement is for the management system to ensure the accelerated advancement of the process of intensification of the national economy and all activities. It is an open secret that it is not only the absence of direct incentive but the complexity and the cumbersomeness of the administrative apparatus, particularly in the ministries, which create difficulties and hinder the faster application of scientific and technical progress, the identification and utilization of reserves and the reaching of greater creative activeness.

Second is the requirement of the systematic implementation of the principles of democratic centralism in management, in accordance with the new social relations which have developed and on the basis of the socialist property of the whole people. Naturally, we shall continue to apply administrative methods in resolving economic problems, but only where the nature of the work so requires. Now we must govern mainly with the help of economic ways and means. We must rely on the interests of labor collectives and individuals in directing their activities more accurately. At the same time, we must expand the participation of the working people in management and create conditions for expanding the initiative of the real managers--the labor collectives.

Third is the requirement of extensively using scientific approaches and methods in economic management. The conscious utilization of objective economic laws and the application of the economic approach presume high-level competence, objective information and comprehensive study of problems in the course of decision-making. We can no longer manage by intuition, by whim or merely with most general and superficial knowledge.

Improvements in social management must be comprehensive. They must cover the stages of planning, the organization of the work, supervision and cadre training.

Which is the new and main feature in these directions?

The new and main feature is, above all, the advancement of planning.

We have developed an essentially new approach to planning, based on new interrelationships between the owner and the manager of socialist property. This requires the type of planning technology focused on the new method for the formulation of state assignments and the state plan and the new role of the counterplan.

We are formulating state assignments and a state plan which ensure the implementation of the functions of the state as the owner from the top to the bottom.

The state plan covers the entire reproduction process and the country's cultural and social advancement. It guarantees the proportional development of society, the balancing of the economy, the basic social measures, and the implementation of our obligations in the international division of labor and of our commitments to the fraternal socialist countries. That is why the state plan is a law and no deviations from it are permitted.

However, the state planning assignments do not exhaust the possibilities of our economy. The plan does not cover, it cannot and should not cover all the problems and tasks related to the development of the individual economic and social units within our society. It cannot and should not exhaust all reserves and trigger an unrealistic stress. The reserves of the economic organizations and the details of their activities come to light in the counterplan, which is developed from the bottom to the top and is the undertaking of the labor collectives themselves. This is an essentially new and basic difference, which also faces new requirements related to the formulation of the state plan and the counterplans.

To begin with, the state plan now must be based on a detailed strategy related to the sectorial structure of the national economy and the territorial location of production forces. It is through it that the state implements its economic policy, strategy for structural changes in production, and strategy in the satisfaction of requirements, the foreign economic area and scientific and technical progress.

When we speak of strategy in science and production, we must always take our actual possibilities into consideration. We are a small country and we must choose and develop areas in which we are the strongest and in which we can become most highly efficient. Our strength also lies in the fact that, based on the socialist division of labor and our close ties with the Soviet Union, we are pursuing precisely this type of collective strategy. At the same time, we must always watch and take into consideration the global strategy of the most advanced countries. It is thus that we can find our most suitable place in the world's economy.

Second, scientific and technical progress should be not a section but the foundation of the state plan and its essence, and should be present everywhere. It is through the plan that we must carry out the steady updating of technology and output. Yes, updating precisely! Such renovation cannot be accomplished without the help of the state and without a properly defined strategy of the economic organizations and start of the strategy of the state.

Third, we have a detailed program for upgrading the living standards of the population. The principal feature of this program now is to convert it into a starting point for planning and its final objective. This means that both production and foreign trade must not be considered self-seeking aims but be developed in such a way as to provide new opportunities for enhancing the living standard. This is the main and decisive feature!

Fourth, the state must concentrate exclusively on basic indicators. It will continue to develop and promote them. This is an inviolable stipulation.

Very briefly, these indicators are the following:

The most important physical indicator is guaranteeing the country's balances.

Profit. This means not merely profits which guarantee the necessary minimal level of the growth rates of the national income.

Currency. We are extensively involved in the international division of labor, for which reason the question of foreign exchange is of prime importance. Based on the international situation, during some periods a stricter control will be practiced on foreign exchange while at other times the possibility will be granted of free purchasing or foreign loans, providing that the economic organization itself is able to repay them. However, the state will always firmly control the foreign exchange balance.

In some cases other specific indicators may arise. Those I have mentioned, however, are the main ones. It is on them that state planning must be based. The adoption of additional indicators will mean petty supervision and depriving the collectives of their initiative.



The state organs--the Council of Ministers and the functional and sectorial ministries--play an exceptionally important role in the formulation of the state plan. They must act as a single entity, synchronized, as representatives of the owner. The national economic and state interests are the same and no narrow sectorial or departmental approach should be allowed. All ministries are equally responsible for the entire plan. The state plan is a single entity rather than a collection of separate parts with specific responsible officials.

Yes, a radical reorganization of the subjective factor in state planning is necessary! This is particularly important now, for it is no secret that the effects of the economic mechanism is frequently hindered and the power of economic levers is undermined through the plan and that in the final account this leads to voluntarism, to violations of objective economic laws of development.

The new approach to counterplanning reflects the new functions of the economic organizations and their labor collectives as the true managers of socialist property.

What is the counterplan?

The counterplan is an expanded program of indicators of the overall production-economic activities and social development of the labor collective; the counterplan guarantees the implementation of approved state tasks and, by bringing up reserves, ensures the implementation of the additionally concluded contracts in addition to the state tasks, thus achieving greater efficiency.

Consequently, the counterplan is the basic instrument in socialist economic management. It includes not only production development and financial indicators but the social problems facing the collectives. The counterplan is an indicator of the use of the collective mind and collective creativity. It is a field of the greatest possible manifestation of the management of the economic organization and the entire labor collective.

When we speak of the new approach to the counterplan we must bear in mind several essentially new features.

First, the counterplan is indivisible from the state plan. It is precisely the state planned assignments which are the base on which each economic organization in our country formulates its counterplan.

Second, the state plan, the state planning assignments, do not guarantee the self-support of the economic organizations. It is precisely the counterplan which provides a base for ensuring the self-support of the economic organization. It is through the counterplan that internal resources are harnessed for achieving the most favorable economic results.

Third, no state organ has the right to appropriate in any manner whatsoever the resources of the economic organization made clear through the counterplan. The economic organization has no right to centralize the resources discovered

by its subunits through counterplanning. Unless this principle is strictly observed no labor collective would be interested in making full use of its real possibilities and discovering ever-new reserves. We must guarantee the inviolability of the rights of primary collectives and units against arbitrary decisions taken by superior instances.

Fourth, a counterplan formulated without the active participation of the entire collective should not be accepted. Managements which draft their own plans or, even worse, are issued "counterplans" from above, should be strictly penalized. We must firmly change the current practice of setting short deadlines for drafting counterplans, which would prevent the participation of the workers in their formulation. We must remember that the active participation of the working people in the elaboration and adoption of counterplans is one of the main ways to strengthen economic democracy.

Fifth, the counterplan is open. It must be steadily improved and expanded whenever new reserves are discovered for improving economic efficiency, depending on changes in production and marketing. The collective must be familiar with all changes made in the counterplan, and those who will be affected, positively or negatively, must be mandatorily informed of such facts.

The role of the counterplan must be enhanced and the democratic system used in its formulation is currently the main reserve for improving management and encouraging mass creativity.

Another new aspect is ensuring the socialist organization in public production and strengthening the discipline in all activities of the state and labor collectives, from top to bottom. A good organization of the work does not require capital investments yet it is highly effective. This is one of the greatest reserves in social production intensification.

At the 1978 National Party Conference we discussed in detail problems of the socialist organization of labor in all its aspects. These problems remain relevant, the more so since we must carry out, along with the economic reforms, a significant amount of organizational work in order to surmount some negative processes in our economy, which are currently hindering its fast development and are slowing down the growth of the country's national income and, unless surmounted, could have a lasting adverse effect on our overall socioeconomic development. I am referring to the declining pace of capital returns and the unsatisfactory growth rates of labor productivity.

Problems of the socialist organization of labor should now be considered in connection with the new relations between owner and manager, under the conditions of the overall application of the new economic approach.

We ascribe and must ascribe exceptional importance to discipline, in all its varieties: labor, technological, financial and state; a discipline for all, from the minister to the worker. The level of discipline is a criterion of the growth of the individual, the labor collective, their awareness and their morality.

Today the problem of discipline is the main problem. It is not merely economic but also political, ideological and educational. That is why we must increase the economic penalties for discipline violations and assert everywhere a direct interest in the good organization of the work, accuracy, expediency, rationalization of individual labor, and so on. The observance of public discipline must become one of the basic criteria in the social assessment of individual and collective labor through wages, promotions and spiritual incentive.

Refining and rationalizing relations among the economic organizations and between them and the other organizational and administrative units in the national economy is of great importance in developing socialist organization in public production.

A while back I assigned to a group of senior comrades, including scientific workers (some of them may be present here), to draft models of interaction between economic organizations meeting the requirements and the philosophy of the new economic mechanism. The objective was to restructure the style, method and organization of the work of the specific economic organizations on the basis of such models. I thought that this was one of the great stumbling blocks in the actual application of the new mechanism.

I still do not know the way the comrades have dealt with this assignment, which is a difficult one. However, this is an exceptionally important problem, for which reason I would like to raise it again for your benefit and that of our public.

Comrades:

We already have a number of regulations, instructions, orders and interpretations regarding the economic mechanism. It is true that some of them conflict with others or, worse, clash with the economic approach. However, this shall be corrected gradually. The economic managements and labor collectives, however, cannot find an easy way out in the tangle of articles, paragraphs and points of the various regulations and instructions. It must be explained to them in a clear and accessible manner how to act in the various specific cases and what is the behavior prescribed by the economic mechanism and the legal documents in one case or another, so that they may focus their attention not on bureaucratic processing and presentation of their accomplishments but on the real content of the work.

That is why we must develop model-prescriptions which will describe the process and means of action of specific, of real situations. These must be types of organizational models which will indicate to the managers how to act whenever one economic problems or another must be resolved and to define the most efficient ways of interaction among the units operating on a cost-accounting basis--brigades, enterprises, combines, trusts and corporations--both among them and with the state organs--ministries, departments and people's councils.

These models or samples must be developed in accordance with the new rights and responsibilities of all organizational units; they must determine the

range of competence of the labor collective and its organs guaranteeing the economic autonomy of the primary units against bureaucratic encroachments on the part of superior organs. We particularly need this today.

The formulation of such models will be the task of a broad range of specialists in various fields, including economists, lawyers, sociologists, psychologists and so on. Representatives of labor collectives must participate in their discussions. We must also encourage the practice of extensive discussion of particularly important documents in the organization of social relations, as was the case in drafting the new Labor Code.

Along with the interaction among individual units within the national economy, some processes must be reorganized as well. This particularly applies today to the investment process.

It is clear to everyone that investments determine the country's present and future. From the victory of the socialist revolution on and to this day we speak of capital investments and the investment process, and we shall continue to discuss it the future, for this is a radical problem of our development.

As to the formulation of problems, no one can blame us; no one could say that so far we have not paid adequate attention to them. What is bad is that to this day we have still not eliminated a number of faults and negative phenomena which we have long witnessed and frequently condemned.

Thus, for example, to this day the following occurs: the construction of a new project or the reconstruction and modernization of a project is undertaken without proven necessity and, above all, without confirmed capital investment effectiveness; the designs are frequently of low quality and are morally obsolete even at the time of their approval; or else, we undertake the construction of projects without cost estimates; the cost estimates of a number of projects keep steadily and quite substantially increasing; or else we delay the commissioning of the projects far beyond the stipulated deadlines; some plant capacities are reached too slowly, and so on.

Why does this occur? Because, as our people say, a vine must be hoed rather than prayed upon; because there is no modern organization of the investment process, based not on pious wishes but on direct economic incentive, on an economic approach.

We know that the main characters in the investment process are the investor, designer, builder and equipment supplier.

What is the current status of the investment process? The interests of the participants are conflicting and sometimes also clash with the interests of the state, society and the people.

It is mandatory for the function and role of all participants in the investment process to change.

The investor must be economically interested and forced to build only what is most necessary, to build with minimum funds but also on the best possible



contemporary and long-term level and complete the projects within the shortest possible time and reach planned capacity as rapidly as possible. Henceforth he must be given all rights through suitable contracts to formulate his requirements to the designers, builders and equipment suppliers. This will concentrate the common interest within a single direction, toward the national interest, as the management of national property dictates.

I shall not discuss the other areas in which socialist organization must be strengthened and applied in a new way. I would merely like to emphasize that the social management system must be one of the main carriers of socialist organization. That is its basic social function. The guarantee for the successful implementation of this function is the extensive participation of the working people, of the public, in all forms and phases of management.

The further development and overall reorganization of social control is particularly important in increasing the participation of the working people in management.

Our party is systematically pursuing the Leninist line of steadily enhancing the role of social control in the life of society and its transformation into a live and personal concern of millions of working people. We have already acquired tremendous experience in the development of the national control system, based on single principles and the broadest possible social foundation. We recently celebrated the 35th anniversary of the creation of the state and people's control organs.

Naturally, the forms, methods and, more important, the very content of control are not fixed. They develop and will continue to develop along with the entire society as a manifestation of its maturity and as a powerful factor in the further development of socialist democracy and the increasing involvement of the working people in the administration of social affairs.

A profound reorganization of the social control system is necessary. We must develop the type of organization for control activities, the ability and approaches of which would be consistent with the requirements of the mature socialist society in terms of comprehensiveness, efficiency and practical results.

What is the main feature here, comrades?

The essential feature is the enhancement of the control functions of the labor collective and the conversion of the labor collective into a system of prime significance within the social control system.

A number of prerequisites exist to this effect. The determining fact is that the labor collective, both today and in the future, will be organized, will exist and will create material and spiritual goods as the manager of the socialist property, that it is increasingly resolving and will resolve problems related to labor life and labor interrelationships in our society.

Control is an indivisible part of any management and it must indicate to the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager positive and

negative features in daily work, supervise the process in order to develop a proper strategy and ensure making the best, the optimal decisions and expose possible conflicts in order to resolve them promptly. We need competent control, on the level of the problems we are resolving, by applying the achievements of contemporary science and relying on the full social information system.

The state and people's control is the pivot of the unified control system in our society. It protects the interests of the state and society and supervises on behalf of the owner the preservation and multiplication of the socialist property of the whole people and its full utilization in the interests of the people. It operates in close connection with the social organizations and the people's councils. Its roots are in the labor collectives, where it helps in the efficient management of socialist property, approves new developments, encourages creativity and supports sensible risk. Extensive publicity and public support of results of the daily efforts of its organs help to block attempts at violating the laws.

We particularly need at this point a truly nationwide, comprehensive, continuing and, above all, preventive control! In order to achieve this, we must create the type of conditions which will interest the managers of socialist property in controlling and managing it and struggling against its waste.

Finally, I must say a few words on training cadres for economic management on all levels.

A new approach is now needed to training management cadres. What specifically do I mean?

First, the training of cadres in national economic management must be extended literally to all working people. The labor collectives cannot efficiently participate in the management of economic organizations without being trained to do so, without knowing what must be resolved and how, and what must be controlled and how. That is why management training must become a mass, a comprehensive effort. Life itself demands of us the implementation of Lenin's familiar behest of teaching even the lowliest cook to manage!

Second, management training should be such as to provide knowledge and skills which will ensure the direct implementation of the functions and tasks assigned to the cadres. It can no longer be general, limiting itself to most general stipulations equally applicable on all management levels and to all working people. Only the principles are common but they should be presented in a differentiated basis, according to the level of management and previous cadre training.

Third, management training must be such as to shape the contemporary style of management. Training must be given a new content. We must teach not what the teachers have known for years and which the students find extremely boring but what is new, the main features which the party implements through its economic and social policy and systematic application of the economic approach.

Allow me to end this lecture at this point.

## Lecture No 3

### Topical Problems of Party Policy

Dear comrades:

Today I intend to discuss some topical problems of our social policy. I shall consider them, having already discussed the crucial problems of laying the material and technical foundations of developed socialism and advancement of socioeconomic relations and national economic management. This is logical, for all our successes in the development of production forces and production relations is focused on the person. That is why problems of social policy play a key role in the party's overall strategy. "Everything for man, everything in his name" is to us a high principle based on our communist ideal.

Throughout the entire period of building socialism the BCP has waged a systematic struggle for the increasing satisfaction of the material, spiritual and social needs of the people on the road to the great objective of raising a comprehensively developed individual.

Innumerable fact can be cited showing the tremendous progress we have made along this way. Let me merely point out that whereas immediately after the 9 September victory, for example, we faced the problem of finding employment for every one, any kind of employment, today we are trying to provide the people jobs which will enable them to develop and realize most fully their capabilities. During the first years of freedom we were trying to meet essentially the vital needs of the people. Today, our attention is becoming increasingly directed toward their spiritual and creative needs.

This is entirely natural.

The material and spiritual capabilities of our society increased considerably in the course of building socialism. This enabled us to channel even more energetically our social policy directly toward the problems of man in the broadest meaning of the term. We wrote in the new party program that the socialist working person will develop and realize himself comprehensively. The following year we adopted the so-called December program of the increasingly better satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual requirements of the people in the stage of building mature socialism. The problem of man and his full development held a central position also in the proceedings of the joint session of the party's Central Committee, the Council of Ministers,

the leaderships of the BZNS, the trade unions, the Fatherland Front and the Komsomol which took place on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the December program.

In addition to earmarking the forthcoming tasks, the successes achieved in improving the living standards of the people over the past decade were reported at the session. Let me emphasize only the most important, the most significant result: During those years of difficult and conflicting international events, worsening energy crisis, considerable rise in raw and other material prices and adverse weather conditions and natural disasters, our social development remained stable.

We did not allow a decline in the living standards of the people or curtailed social expenditures. On the contrary, the real population income rose by some 50 percent. The social consumption funds increased by a factor of some 2.5, from 2.8 billion to 6,525,000,000 leva. Today the living standards of the Bulgarian people are good. The working people enjoy tranquility and social benefits. They look at their present and future with confidence.

These are real, visible and tangible accomplishments of our social policy. They convincingly prove its profoundly humane nature and radical difference from bourgeois social policy.

It is also entirely clear that under different circumstances we could have achieved considerably more. The specific implementation of social policy, however, is directly dependent on the international situation in which the building of socialism takes place and, as you know, this situation worsened sharply in recent years. Imperialism, the Washington administration especially, blindly obeying the will of capitalism and the military-industrial complex in the United States, is trying to mount a broad offensive against socialism. Guided by the wish to achieve military superiority, imperialism would like to involve us in a new arms race and create social tension in our countries. These plans and intentions are as ambitious as they are futile. Naturally, if they are imposed on us, new expenditures for our defense will be reflected in the other areas of life. However, there is no cause for pessimism. In answer to the threats, while taking the necessary defensive steps, we must concentrate even more energetically on resolving our own problems. The economic possibilities of the fraternal countries and the international socialist division of labor and production cooperation are tremendous, and the imperialist challenge can and must become another impetus in developing our forces.

And now, comrades, allow me to discuss some problems of leading importance in the further implementation of the party's social policy during the stage of building mature socialism.

#### 1. On the Fundamental Principles and Directions of the Party's Social Policy

Under socialism, social policy is aimed at the working person in principle. The implementation of its plans and objectives, however, decisively depend on the extent to which we have accurately determined the essential principles on which it is structured. In other words, the problem is related to our concept of the nature of social policy under socialism.



The fundamental principle of our party's social policy is the proper combination and close intertwining between economic and social objectives in the course of social development.

What is the main feature here?

The main feature is, above all, that we are building our social policy in accordance with our economic development and in most close connection with the growth of the national income.

As I have repeatedly stressed, we can put on our table only that which we have created through our toil. In order to be able to consume more we must produce more material and spiritual values. During the cult of personality the slogan of sharply improving the living standard was raised, regardless of economic achievements. The party surmounted this dangerous voluntarism.

The BCP's April policy is scientific. In defining and implementing it, the party is guided by its unchanging principles in this area, while taking strictly into consideration the effect of the objective laws governing the development of socialism. Based on the general laws of our present stage and Bulgaria's specific circumstances, we are trying to develop our society and to enhance the living standards of the people on the firm foundations of our domestic economic possibilities and accomplishments.

The main socioeconomic task approved by the 12th party congress includes the comprehensive satisfaction of the steadily increasing material, spiritual and social needs of the people.

Our party and people clearly see that the implementation of the new loftier objectives of our social policy during the present and the subsequent five-year plans will depend on resolving the problem of the radical restructuring and updating of the material and technical base; the accelerated and balanced development of the economy; and the further growth of the national income through the intensive development of the national economy and the growth of social labor productivity. To us there neither is nor could there be another way or another alternative!

We have repeatedly emphasized that the building a socialist economy is not an aim but a means for meeting the needs of the people. But is it sufficient to develop our material and technical base and national economy, to channel our efforts exclusively toward them and to consider that we shall thus resolve problems of social policy? No, this is not enough, for the social development of the socialist society and individual are an independent and a significant area with its own specifics, laws and problems. This is because social development is an important prerequisite for the implementation of our production and economic objectives. As was emphasized at the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the living standard is a separate area in social production, which both receives and respectively supplies resources to other areas.

Consequently, today the problem of the interaction between economic and social policy has a number of aspects and cannot be reduced merely to the living standard, however important it may be. The main thing here is to relate this

interaction to the overall objectives of our social development in such a way as to make social policy an active factor, a motive force in the development of the material and technical base and in economic intensification.

The implementation of this requirement depends to the greatest extent on the application of the following principle in our social policy: the principle of socialist social equality and social justice.

The slogan of social equality and justice may be found inscribed on the banners of virtually all popular movements and social revolutions. Before scientific communism and the communist movement appeared, however, this slogan had never had a sufficiently clear and scientific content.

What is our understanding of social equality under socialism?

As we know, by abolishing private ownership of productive capital, the socialist revolution eliminated the economic foundation of class exploitation and class antagonism. It thus opened the way for the establishment of a socialist kind of social equality and justice and created conditions for the assertion of a qualitatively new, a socialist way of life.

Socialist social equality has two initial aspects. The first is that the people become equal in terms of productive capital. This is the main and decisive feature in the establishment of social equality, for it is precisely the forms of private ownership of productive capital which have always been the economic foundation for a variety of forms of social inequity. It is not the size of property or class affiliation but precisely labor which becomes the universal and exclusive measure in defining a person's social status.

The socialist revolution freed labor from class exploitation and, in this sense, made it free. However it cannot convert it in one fell swoop into a prime vital necessity and an area of application of the creative capabilities by all. This requires qualitative prerequisites, such as an essentially new division of labor, an essentially new technical and organizational-managerial production base, etc. These prerequisites are created gradually, in the course of building the new social system. It is precisely they that will make it possible for labor to become a natural inner need for all. Until then, however, economic coercion will remain, and so will the objective need for material interest and incentive and economic penalties for unconscientious fulfillment of labor obligations. In other words, the principles "He Who Does Not Work Must Not Eat" and "From Each According to His Capabilities and to Each According to His Work" will retain their real significance.

This means that socialist equality does not mean equality of income and, therefore, of consumption. Conversely, in both income and consumption equality presumes differences resulting from the different abilities and training of the individual and their attitude toward labor and labor obligations or, in other words on the quantity and quality of the labor they contribute to society.

The principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of labor has two sides. Above all, it means equal income and equal consumption for

equal labor and an objectively determined inequality: unequal income for unequal labor.

As I have insisted on other subjects, at this stage there neither is nor could there be any other social equality. There is no way in which a tasty pie can be cut into equal pieces. We can split the pie according to the merits of those who have participated in its making. If we divide it evenly there would be no socialism and, after it, no communism.

Naturally, the socialist type of social equality is not the highest. At the present stage, however, it is the only one possible. Any attempt at short-cutting it or "introducing" or "establishing" another type of social equality is doomed to failure.

In social policy we always and above all mean upgrading the living standard of the people. This is understandable. The main question, however, is on what basis should it take place in the future? The answer lies in the stipulations of the 12th party congress, a basic one among which is that improvements in the living standards of the people be consistent with the growth of the purchasing power of the working people.

Our population's purchasing power is rising steadily and its growth rate has not dropped even for a single year after the April plenum. This unquestionably will continue in the future, for the reverse would mean trampling on the same spot and ignoring the objective laws of our development, while our struggle for higher labor productivity and higher national income become self-seeking and removed from life.

That is why I believe that it would be accurate to speak in the future only of the kind of enhancement of the living standard consistent with the level of the purchasing power of the working people.

In this connection, ensuring that the growth rate of the commodity fund outstrip the populations' purchasing fund assumes crucial significance in terms of our social policy.

The problems of the ratio in the development of heavy and light industry (group A and group B); of the fullest possible utilization of existing capacities for the production of consumer goods; the creation of small and medium-sized enterprises operating on a high technical level, offering high-quality goods and services and applying new organizational forms by breaking departmental and sectorial barriers must be resolved flexibly, based on specific conditions. The integration and association between light and local industry, between state and cooperative industry, between the food industry and public catering, etc., must be developed on an economic basis.

But, someone may object, is this not a consumerist approach to the living standard?

Not in the least! Such an approach exists when consumption is considered separately from production, economic results and increased labor productivity, when we consume without producing, when we take without giving, and when we

violate the socialist principle of distribution according to the quality and quantity of labor. It can also be expressed through the hope that someone on the outside or "higher-up" will present us solution to social problems.

The consumerist attitude which develops in some people or circles is expressed in loafing or object hoarding. Ours is a society in which the consumption of material goods will be increasing steadily. However, we cannot accept as our ideal for consumption to become the meaning and purpose of human life. Higher consumption of material goods is only one of the conditions for the comprehensive development of the person and the enrichment and blossoming of the personality.

The next question which I would immediately to raise applies to the sources and method of formation of the working people's income.

The sole source of income under socialism is the newly created value, the national income, which is created wherever material goods are produced. It is created both under socialism and capitalism. The entire question is how it is distributed, who appropriates it and how it is used.

In our country about 25 percent of the national income is used for accumulation, for the further growth of the material and technical base, i.e., for ensuring expanded socialist reproduction. The remaining three quarters of the national income are used for consumption purposes, including wages of those employed in the national economy and for the social consumption funds which are accessible to all the citizens of the country.

Consequently, the main sources for our population's income are two: the wage, earned by the working people in accordance with the socialist principle of distribution, and the social consumption funds.

In the future as well the wage will remain the main source for increasing the income and purchasing power of the people, stimulating their labor activeness and improving their living standard.

What is new in the approach to forming the wage under the conditions of the new economic approach and its mechanism?

First, the wage is made far more dependent on the quantity and quality of the work invested by the individual.

In his "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx defined clearly and precisely the nature of labor under socialism as an even yardstick and criterion which, however, does not measure unequal people in terms of qualities. Our social system guarantees equal opportunities to all working people and the equal right to determining their contribution according to the quantity and quality of their work. Those who work more and better and achieve greater results earn higher wages and greater social recognition. What could be better, more socialist or more democratic than the fact that some workers and farmers earn ministerial-level wages?



The new economic approach and its mechanism give the labor collectives and brigades the right to distribute their earnings in accordance with the contribution of the individual worker and specialist. This is a good base for eliminating the trend toward equalization which remains even after the contribution of the collective and the individual has been determined. Second, under the new circumstances the wage raises of the individual collectives and working people will depend on the results of production activities, increased labor effectiveness and productivity, savings, income earned, and so on. This applies not only to those employed in material production but to all sectors.

Third, the wage becomes a resultant value. Only thus can we ensure the proper combination of the economic interests of economic organizations and labor collectives with those of the state and society.

We know that working time is the real manifestation of labor. The wage is paid for invested labor rather than for marking time on the job. This calls for determining for every working person the amount of work required to pack his normed working time. This requires a serious consideration of job characteristic and labor norms. Many possibilities exist in this area for achieving higher production results and hence for wage and living standard improvements.

A new approach must be applied also in regulating the nominal wage with the help of tariff and wage-rate reforms. The society will continue to set the maximal levels of the new tariff and wage-rate salaries and the ceiling to be reached during a given five-year plan through the state. The new Labor Code will enable the economic organizations to set these salaries within the framework of their wage fond, providing that they have reached the planned labor productivity or any other synthetic indicator.

Let me repeat that the main feature in our social policy will be the comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the people on the basis of the purchasing power which will be formed above all in accordance with the quality and quantity of labor invested.

A decisive struggle will have to be waged against parasitical consumption in order to implement this principle in full.

But where does this consumerism alien to socialism come from? Parasitical consumption and hence the distortion of the principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor is due to the fact that frequently and even on a mass scale income, bonuses and others are received without production costs having declined or social productivity risen. Yet production costs and social labor productivity are and will remain the source of the purchasing power at the present stage of our social development. That is the most important thing! As to the influence of factors which artificially increase prices, they must be considered in a different way, for they are circumstantial. We must also oppose wasting socialist property, thefts, misappropriations and so on. This is because these and many other things also lead in the final account to unearned income and parasitical consumption.

As we know, in accordance with our overall socioeconomic strategy we developed and are already applying a new approach in raising and using the social consumption funds. This approach takes better into consideration the real possibilities of the country for their increase and stimulates more efficiently the labor activeness and initiative of the working people.

What is the most characteristic feature of this new approach?

The main feature in the new approach is the decisive boosting of the economic and social efficiency in the use of social funds. The purpose of the social funds is to contribute even better to resolving the problems of the working person and his family, to upgrade his education, skills and standards, make his daily rest more meaningful and to contribute to anything which will make his work more productive and contributing to society at large and to himself. The purpose of the social funds is to contribute even better to the comprehensive development of the socialist individual.

Naturally, we shall continue to observe the stipulation that a significant part of the social consumption funds are spent on the basis of need, regardless of any direct relation to the quantity and quality of invested labor. This is just and human and in the interest of society as well, for it applies to health care educational training, some types of social assistance, etc. However, the social funds should not be such as to undermine the effect of the principle of material incentive, which is the main and determining principle under socialism. For this reason, decisive priority should be given to those who work well and whose work is of better quality and more efficient.

The new approach we are discussing is called upon to increase the role of the social funds as a factor which also stimulates the participation of the people in labor and creativity. This calls for expanding the initiative of the labor collectives and the population in the conurbation systems and offering broader scope to the local managements and power organs, economic organizations and labor collective in resolving the social, scientific and cultural problems related to their own lives. Today all look to the state for everything, for funds, finding construction workers, ensuring the organization of the work, and so on. Everything goes to the central authorities, the Committee for Planning, the ministries and even the Central Committee. A struggle is fought for including projects in the plan, for ceilings, and so on. Time and energy are lost. Under different circumstances or a different approach the people could do a great deal more to help themselves.

The new approach calls for establishing a clear demarcation and precisely distinguishing between the responsibilities of the state as the central authority and the obshtinas and conurbation systems as the local authorities. The government and its organs must solve only basic problems in forming and using social consumption funds and the problems of strategy in this area, along with nationwide measures. Everything else should be the concern, right and area of action of the obshtina, the management of the conurbation system. That is why, as I already pointed out in my previous lecture, the corresponding funds must be concentrated within the obshtinas. They must be given the rights and possibilities of organizing economic, cultural and other activities and increasing their own social consumption fund from such earnings.

The time has come for plants and all economic units to begin to set aside cash from their social funds cash to be given to the obshtinas for meeting the material and spiritual requirements of the population for a cultural life, and recreation, children's institutions, services, etc.

Labor collectives and their managements must be given greater rights and opportunities to resolve their sociocultural problems. The Social and Cultural Measures Fund should be based on profit increases. They should be allowed to hire the services of scientific and cultural institutes, schools, etc.

The guaranteed social benefits of all members of the socialist society will remain the firm principle governing our social policy.

This applies, above all, to concern for creating the best possible conditions for raising the youngest generation. We have already done a great deal to place in children's institutions children aged from 3 to 6, who need this service, and will be able to resolve this problem toward the end of the five year plan, the more so since the children must be prepared to enter the new educational system at an earlier age.

Previous experience, however, leads us to reassess some concepts and to seek new solutions for raising very young children. I am referring to granting additional facilities for mothers to raise their children at home to the age of 3. The party concept of a new Labor Code suggests a number of steps in this direction, such as paid leave for mothers with small children, and more effective care for pregnant and new mothers at work.

Secondly, in the future as well we shall increase our attention toward people of retirement age. I seem to recall having mentioned on another occasion that in our country there are no generally "old" people. There are people who can and want to work and people who are no longer able to work for health or other reasons. That is why lately the question of the public employment of people who have reached retirement age has been a steady public concern. We are seeking the most suitable methods and incentives, the optimal limits, etc.

Naturally, the solution of this problem should not lead to a generations confrontation. In order not to disturb the natural development -- both professional and social -- of the young people, the young and those nearing retirement should be directed primarily into areas short of specialists and workers. It would also be proper to allow people past retirement age to retain their jobs in some areas of importance to society, based on comprehensive assessment of and proven ability to work.

Housing is another big city problem. Despite successes achieved in recent years, we are lagging behind the needs of the population, of young families in particular, in these settlements. In this connection, as you know, we took a new approach in housing allocations. A Council of Ministers decree was passed according to which 80 percent of newly built housing goes to people in extreme need, particularly house-short young families. At the same time, the pace of new construction must be increased and a total of another 850,000 housing units must be completed during the present five-year plan and through 1990.



The population's income and state investment funds must be used in resolving the housing problem. A differentiated approach must be applied and the principles of social justice observed strictly. We must also seriously consider the question of gradually meeting the housing requirements of young families with a view to their future enlargement.

We have the necessary production capacities to resolve the housing problem. It would be expedient, however, to expand the participation of the population in some finishing work in new housing. Nor should we any longer underestimate the question of the reconstruction and full utilization of older housing.

## 2. On Some Practical Approaches in the Implementation of Our Social Policy

Comrades:

Having said all this, the legitimate question arises: What should guide us in the direct implementation of the party's social policy?

We should be guided first and foremost by Marx's stipulations on the nature and types of human needs.

We know that Marx spoke of the prime requirements (food, clothing, shelter) without which human life is impossible and without the satisfaction of which mankind cannot make its history. In our country these prime needs have been largely met, and our capacities and resources enable us to undertake the rational and scientific satisfaction of these and many other requirements. Naturally, this does not mean in the least that we are trying to impose restrictions in this area, the more so since the needs we are discussing will also be changing and expanding in the course of our overall development.

That is why we must above all increase and improve the variety of consumer goods and develop even further the system of consumer services.

A widespread network of shops engaged in the production of consumer goods was established by combines, enterprises and agroindustrial complexes after the 1980 Ruse conference on the development of services. As a result, as early as 1980 additional goods worth 548 million leva were produced and above-plan services worth 112 million leva were performed. Many of the larger plants have opened stores for food sales, and workshops for various services. The small enterprises are opening joint stores and workshops. So far, a total of 3,244 stores and 1,374 consumer services workshops have been opened. This was carried out without any particular investments, although their social and economic results have been significant. We must apply this approach in the future as well. We have the necessary conditions to this effect. We have possibilities for making fuller use of the material and technical facilities in the light and food industries, the Central Cooperative Union, local industry, the self-satisfaction possibilities of the conurbation systems, etc.

Naturally, we must be realistic. The condition of our production base does not permit a rapid reorganization and, therefore, a general solution of the problem of comprehensively satisfying the needs of the working people. That is precisely why here development must be controlled, for it is precisely in



the areas of regulation and control, which are a purely subjective component of this problem, that major weaknesses exist.

Let us consider the study of consumer demand. We are a small country, and modern electronic facilities can inform us on a weekly basis as to what goods are or are not available in the stores throughout Bulgaria, what is requested, and what can be offered. All of this, however, is no more than a wish, for we lack material incentive and economic coercion.

Or else let us consider the contractual system in trade. Today contracts are signed only on the basis of the state plan. The plan, however, cannot cover the dozens and hundreds of thousands of different available commodities which could be offered to the people. The plan deals with amounts and varieties of goods. As to the rest — models, designs, sizes, etc. — all of this must be contracted for on the basis of the counterplans.

The poor variety and the disparity between production and consumer demand adversely affect sales. It is no accident that a large percentage of commodity stocks actually consist of never to be sold goods.

Volume increases and structural improvements of goods should be consistent with the changing needs of the working people. The rapid elimination of the shortage of commodity stocks in demand by the population and the further development of the production of delicatessen and luxury items are major prerequisites for improving the qualitative structure of commodity stocks. At the same time, the production of consumer goods must be steadily updated in accordance with the best world-wide models and the fuller study and consideration of the population's requirements.

At the same time we must increase the share of imported goods in the overall volume of commodity assets. We must try to ensure the steady growth of trade with the socialist countries and broaden production and technical cooperation with foreign organizations and firms.

Consequently, in order to resolve the problem of the faster growth of the commodity stock relative to the population's purchasing power, we must pursue systematically and to the end the line which we have drafted in this area. As to the weaknesses and shortcomings I mentioned, they could be eliminated and surmounted only if the activities of this entire system are made consistent with the new economic approach and its mechanism.

In pursuing this line of thought, we can clearly say that the self-satisfaction system as well must be developed and perfected further. As you know, we have been applying this system consistently and persistently since 1977.

What are its new features at this stage?

They are that self-satisfaction has become the main form of supplying the population with agricultural products.

The previously held idea was that the self-satisfaction system should supplement the system of centralized supplies of farm products. Now the

opposite prevails: goods from the centralized funds will be sent to the okrugs and conurbation systems only as an exception and within stipulated limits. The conurbation systems will be fully responsible for reaching the consumption norms as defined in the unified state plan, the counterplans and the territorial programs.

The old concept was that the self-satisfaction system applied only to some farm goods. The current thought is that the conurbation systems should ensure self-satisfaction covering a significantly large number of products, or almost all basic agricultural commodities. That is why we must increase possibilities of establishing direct relations among conurbation systems and entire okrugs. Economic contracts must be drafted for the procurement of commodities which are either in short supply or cannot be produced in a given area.

In recent years we achieved some successes in the development and strengthening of the auxiliary farms of plants, enterprises, establishments and other economic organizations and private citizens. The task is to continue in the future to grow anything that the land can produce, so that the private and auxiliary farms may become a firm support of the self-satisfaction system.

The private auxiliary plots must be considered a necessary and intrinsic part of our socialist economic system. They must perform important economic and social functions as an area in which to invest the additional efforts of household, as a means of additional national income and as a factor in the fuller satisfaction of the need for agricultural commodities.

As you may see, when we speak of man as the main productive force and of his way of life and creating conditions for the preservation of his vitality and work capability we must begin with the essential -- the satisfaction of his prime material requirements.

But reality and our experience prove that today production and activities and their results increasingly depend on the activities of the other social areas, such as science, education, culture, physical culture, sports, tourism and so on. Such activities become increasingly important in terms of improving the personal side of the production forces. High professional training, specialized knowledge and broader general culture are becoming mandatory prerequisites for a more productive work by a higher number of working people.

Consequently, other needs of vital importance to the people exist, the satisfaction of which must be taken into consideration.

What is the situation in health care, for example? On the surface, it appears quite good. We are among the world's frontrankers in per capita hospital and physicians availability. We have a good material base and capable cadres. Nevertheless, health care is afflicted with numerous weaknesses. Clearly, the problem rests with the organization of the health care system.

Today matters stand as follows: if someone falls ill, he will be examined, medicines will be prescribed and he will be treated in a polyclinic or a hospital. Naturally, this proves great concern for the person. However, would it not be much better if in health care, as in our entire politics after the

12th congress, to shift the center of gravity in health care to where the millions of people are to be found -- in the plants, enterprises, scientific organizations and institutes, etc.? Would it not be much better to create true health "shops" precisely there? This would mean adopting a comprehensive approach to the health of the working people, which would include, in addition to medical services, sports and rest.

We note of late an increasing desire to indulge in, particularly among the young. This is wonderful. The development of mass physical culture, however, is being hindered by existing departmentalism in building and managing local sports facilities. Because of departmentalism, sports facilities are used partially, sporadically and incompletely. It is inadmissible to have sports facilities closed! If such facilities are not being used by those who have built them why not let others use them? That is precisely why the sports facilities of each conurbation system must be under one management and have one program for their use. Such problems, like those of the further development of sports facilities must be resolved not on a strictly departmental basis but for the entire conurbation system. No one except for its managers should have the right to interfere and make different decisions.

The approach to the comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the working people applies to other service areas as well. Let us consider legal services. We know that every day thousands of people fail to show up for their socially useful work in order to go to court, see a lawyer, sometimes for a trifle, for a most ordinary reference. Recently the State Council considered the matter and approved a new system which will take legal services closer to the population. We believe that its application will save the people unnecessary trips to courts and legal consultations.

A great deal of nervous energy and time are also needed today before a person can find his way in the labyrinths of administrative services. We are currently trying to simplify such services. A considerable share of the administrative services will be provided at the workplace, in the plants, i.e., they too will come closer to millions of people.

Generally speaking, the question of the quality of services must be posed even more seriously. Better quality will be the result of a better organization and the use of the types of forms and methods of services which will enable the population to make use of the services it needs with minimal time losses. It would be hardly necessary to give examples of the fact that it is precisely the dragging of feet, bureaucratic regulations and wasting the time of the citizens that are some of the scourges of our services.

The main requirement which now faces the system of services is to bring them as close to the homes and workplaces of the citizens as possible, and above all to coordinate them with their free time.

The further development of services calls for resolving the problem of cadres in this area. Today about one third of the people employed in our economy are in public services. In the future this figure will increase to 50-60

percent. We may have to slow down the development of some other sectors, but we must concentrate our efforts in this area in order to create better working and living conditions for the people.

We must truly realize that a change in the service industry will not be achieved simply with by concentrating manpower. We must develop a modern material and technical base. Even that, however, is insufficient. We may develop a widespread network of service enterprises and saturate them with the latest equipment, but should we fail to train highly skilled personnel and reach a high socialist standard of services their quality will not improve. Service standards must become one of the basic criteria in assessing the activities of all organizations in the service industry.

The needs of the working people in the work area is an important line along which we must direct our current social policy.

The party concept of the new Labor Code stipulated that from a means of survival work is increasingly becoming the main area in which the essential forces of the person are applied.

If the right to work is understood in terms of ensuring full employment, this was accomplished 20 years ago. It no longer suffices for the modern Bulgarian citizen to have any kind of a job. He wants a job which, as I mentioned, will enable him to realize and develop his capabilities. This precisely is the base of a number of important steps which we must take in order to meet the increased social and spiritual needs of man in the labor area.

Let us frankly say that we cannot be satisfied with the pace and scale at which the material and technological working conditions are changing. Entire enterprises and areas of work are equipped with morally obsolete and long amortized equipment in which manual operations predominate and routine, monotonous and meaningless labor is applied. In such cases the needs and requirements of the working people, the young generation in particular, considerably outstrip reality and we should in no case allow this disparity to intensify.

We cannot speak of the new social role of labor without resolving the problem of the labor environment, which determines to the greatest extent the health and work capacity of the socialist working person, his pride and high human dignity. Naturally, today as well we allocate substantial funds in order to provide safe and hygienic working conditions. Our labor safety policy, however, suffers from a serious shortcoming: most of the funds allocated for this purpose are used to partially neutralize unhealthy conditions and for compensating for rather than radically changing the working environment.

Yes, here as well an essentially new strategy is required! The only proper way to ensure the radical solution of the problem of humanizing working conditions is to ensure labor safety and hygiene along the entire chain of building and operating industrial and nonindustrial projects.

And now, something else.



In accordance with the material and technical base we are currently laying, the share of workers engaged in mental labor is increasing. The mental activities of physical workers are increasing and the creative elements of labor are generally growing. Fruitful and efficient work requires contemporary knowledge and skill in handling the complex equipment and technology, high-level organization and discipline.

What is currently the situation with the skilled manpower? It accounts for 21.7 percent of the manpower but should be in excess of 50 percent.

Unquestionably, our social policy should be such as to contribute to the solution of this problem as well, the problem of developing labor resources and the mental potential, the "gray matter" of the nation. This requires the creation of social conditions which not only offer but ensure even greater possibilities for the development and growth of the individual. Particularly important in this respect is the stipulation of the progress of the individual on the same job. Such an opportunity should be guaranteed to every working person, who could develop not only vertically but horizontally, so to say, which should be expressed in terms of his wages and forms of participation in social life.

These are, comrades, some of the main problems and approaches which are gaining priority in the field of social policy. You understand that I did not set myself the task of considering them in their entirety. On some of the matters I shared merely the most general considerations and ideas which are now being discussed by our public in an effort to find the most effective solutions.

In today's lecture I deliberately bypassed the question of spiritual requirements and the party's policy regarding their development and satisfaction. Considering their great importance, I shall discuss them in my next lecture.

Now a few concluding words. We can accomplish a real change in meeting the material and social requirements of the population and in the development of our social policies and practices. We must and can accomplish this in a new way, which will be more effective in terms of the population and the individual citizen. That is why we must organically link the enhancement of living standards to the factors which determine the efficiency of public production and the growth of the national income.

#### Lecture No 4

### On the Place and Role of the Spiritual Sphere in Building a Developed Socialist Society in Bulgaria

Comrades:

As is well known, we, communists, have always ascribed great importance to the place and role of the spiritual sphere in social life. It is precisely we, communists and Marxist-Leninists, who are the bearers of and spokesmen for the accurate and scientific view of the dialectical connection between the material and spiritual areas and the tremendous role which education, science and culture play in social life. It is precisely socialism which converted the spiritual sphere from the privilege of an elite to the possession and field of expression of the broadest possible popular strata, thus multiplying its possibilities in educating a comprehensively developed personality and its reverse influence on the material sphere.

At the very dawn of our socialist movement, Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers, the left-wing socialists, adopted the profoundly democratic and progressive educational and cultural gains and traditions of the people and the highest values. They combine within an indivisible entity the age-old struggle waged by the Bulgarian people for spiritual advancement to the Marxist ideas of the revolutionary reorganization of society. This is one of the great victories of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its historical measure. It is also one of the main reasons for the tremendous prestige of and unre-served support which our communist party enjoyed even under capitalism, among the broadest possible circles of the progressive intelligentsia, the students, teachers and workers in the sciences, literature, the arts and the press. Thousands of loyal sons and daughters of the party, dedicated fighters against fascism and capitalism and for socialism came from the Bulgarian intelligentsia. The word and the struggle, the song and the weapon, poetry and politics or, in a word, art and struggle and creativity and revolution walked hand in hand.

Following the victory of the 9 September socialist revolution, the BCP, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, undertook the radical reorganization of spiritual life. Our party was guided in this process by the fundamental principles of the scientific, educational and cultural policy elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the historical experience of the CPSU in the spiritual development of the Soviet socialist society, and our own experience in the scientific and cultural front and in public education. Our party was inspired by the remarkable idea expressed by Georgi Dimitrov that there are no small or large

nations in the field of culture, and that any nation can make a worthy contribution to the treasury of world culture.

## 1. On Some Characteristic Features of Party Policy in the Spiritual Area

Comrades:

The April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum became a turning point in the development of our spiritual front as well. It surmounted deviations from the Leninist principles of the period of the cult of the individual and laid the beginning of the April policy of our party in the spiritual area. By preserving and continuing the Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions, after 1956 the party systematically developed and resolved ripe theoretical and practical problems in our education, science, literature and art.

The party line is a general line also in the development of the spiritual area, in accordance with its specific characteristics. The line of creative construction for the sake of the communist ideal, the April line, became the unshakeable ideological and political foundation on which the unity of the Bulgarian intelligentsia was developed and strengthened systematically and on a principle-minded basis. It released tremendous creative possibilities and energy and led to remarkable successes in Bulgarian socialist culture. In turn, the spiritual sphere plays and is scheduled to play a tremendous role in the establishment of the April line in the minds and behavior of all working people in our society.

In the course of shaping and developing our April policy in the spiritual area, we formulated some basic guidelines, the observance of which contributed to our cultural upsurge.

What are they? First, the party's view that science, education, literature and art must be most closely related to the life of the people and the problems and requirements of social development. After the April plenum we faced the writers with the slogan "Closer to Life and More Among the People!" During the nearly 3 decades which have passed, a radical reorganization and advancement of the entire cultural sphere was accomplished.

The Bulgarian writers, publicists, journalists, painters, composers and theater and motion picture workers accepted close ties with the working people and collectives as their philosophy of life and creativity. The contemporary problems of the man of the people, the working man, entered their works.

The Bulgarian scientists adopted as their most important task the study of topical problems in the development of the economy, the technology, the various parts of the country and the various production enterprises and settlements.

Our education developed as a truly nationwide project. It covered all Bulgarian children and young people. Its organization and management became the task of people in all social circles.

In the spiritual area we are working and creating for the people. This is one of the greatest accomplishments of the party's policy. Today all significant problems of our development are resolved with the active participation of science, culture and education.

Our second guiding principle is that of the class-party nature of socialist culture. In applying the class-party approach to the assessment of phenomena and trends in the spiritual sphere and its management, after the April Plenum the party launched a successful struggle against bourgeois ideology and its influences, against revisionism and against sectarian-domestic manifestations in spiritual life. Thus, in the struggle on three fronts, it was able to draw over to its platform and rally around its cultural policy all the cadres of the Bulgarian intelligentsia.

The accurate understanding and application of the class-party approach enabled us to preserve everything valuable created by the Bulgarian people through the centuries. Along with the captivating characters of the revolutionaries, those who inspired the people's consciousness, the creators of spiritual values who made their contribution to the development of our people and nation, assumed their proper place in our consciousness.

The accurate understanding and application of the class-party approach enabled the party properly to establish the interrelationship between the national and international aspects. Our spiritual life was purged from manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and national nihilism. Respect for what our people had created became deeper. Our awareness as citizens and builders of a blossoming socialist country increased. We also increased our respect for anything progressive in the education, science, literature and arts of other countries and peoples. At the same time reliable barriers were erected in our spiritual life against efforts to impose upon us standards and models of life and human behavior unnatural to socialism.

Third was the concept of the international nature of the processes developing in socialist education, science and culture. Aware of the fact that the building of a socialist spiritual sphere cannot be successful unless we master the experience and achievements of other peoples, we developed extensive cooperation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, and undertook the study and utilization of global cultural accomplishments. In this manner Bulgarian science, literature and art and our education established even closer contacts with global science, literature and art. On the one hand, this helped us to establish accurate criteria for development and self-evaluation and for enriching our spiritual values and interpreting the true worth of our accomplishments. On the other, such contacts contributed to the enhancement of the international reputation of the Bulgarian people's republic as a country with a rich cultural past and dynamic contemporary spiritual life.

Our fourth guiding principle is the development of socialist democracy and the increased involvement of men of science, education, literature and art in managing the corresponding spiritual areas.



The innovative searches of our party in that direction led to the formulation and application of the principles of the sociostate and state-social principle. This was a discovery which marked, from the theoretical and practical viewpoints, a stage in the development of our spiritual sphere.

Our fifth guiding principle is the party's concept of the objective growth of the significance of education, science, literature and art in the process of building socialism.

The building of a socialist society is not a spontaneous process. On the basis of Lenin's formulation that socialism is the conscious work of the masses, our party is doing a tremendous amount of work to enhance the educational, scientific and cultural standards of the Bulgarian people.

In time historians may be able to distinguish different periods and stages in the development of the cultural policy of the BCP. It is already clear, however, that in addition to the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the 1971 10th Party Congress, the December 1972 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum on Education and the 1981 12th Party Congress were of crucial significance.

Thus, for example, the July 1968 Plenum formulated the overall strategy for the development of science and the application of scientific accomplishments and methods in all areas of social life. Looking at present-day Bulgaria, we can say that the spirit of the July Plenum is alive and active; science and scientific accomplishments and methods held an essential position and are of essential significance in our country's successes.

More than 10 years have passed from the adoption of the BCP 1971 program for building a developed socialist society and we can say with full justification that the program accurately outlined the objective trends in the development of our spiritual front and that the objectives and tasks it set are being successfully carried out.

As to the December 1972 Plenum, at that time our party elaborated for the first time overall unified problems related to the material and spiritual needs of the people and the means to satisfy them. The December social program which dealt with the living standard developed the view of the comprehensive and harmonious development of man as both a personal and social requirement.

The 12th Congress noted accomplishments in the fields of science, education, literature, the arts, the mass information media and our entire cultural front following the adoption of the party program. It enriched the April cultural policy with new developments based on the tasks formulated in accordance with the further building of mature socialism.

The successes achieved on our spiritual front should not prevent us from seeing its weaknesses and shortcomings.

As we know, there is no censorship in our country, nor is it necessary. After the April Plenum we rejected the methods of gross interference in and bureaucratic administration of spiritual life. The party is implementing its guiding role in this area above all through the leading cadres--party and nonparty members employed in the art and scientific institutions, institutes, publishing houses, editorial boards, and so on. As a whole, we have no grounds whatsoever for being dissatisfied with the high ideological and artistic criteria maintained by these cadres.

Unfortunately, individual manifestations of dulled ideological and aesthetic exigency are still to be found both on the part of the creative workers themselves as well as of editors, art councils, juries and critics. Books, movies, shows and works in the other arts appeared in which the class assessment was either insufficiently present or was even lacking, in which the spiritual image of our contemporary was impoverished and historical perspective lost. Nor can we be satisfied with the condition of artistic and scientific criticism which, let me say frankly, are not always on the necessary ideological-political and professional level. The output of the social sciences as well includes superficial works in which serious creative thinking is replaced by general talk and universally familiar truths.

We are not dramatizing these facts. When the creative process is broad and varied, when it is a truly creative process, there will be omissions and weaknesses. Naturally, this does not mean in the least that we are tolerating and will tolerate them. On the contrary, we shall be struggling against any deviations from the class and ideological-scientific positions held by our party. We shall do everything necessary to prevent the appearance of ideologically and artistically immature works.

Comrades:

The main thing which now occupies the workers and cadres in culture is the problem of the further enhancement of the role of the spiritual sphere in building mature socialism, raising the communist individual and asserting the socialist way of life and our communist truth.

Which are, in my view, the basic directions along which this problem is being resolved?

The first direction is related to the influence of the spiritual sphere on the conditions governing the rise of the subjective factor to the level of the tasks and responsibilities in building mature socialism.

Intensification, production updating, comprehensive mechanization and automation, and the mastery of complex equipment and technology face the professional and general cultural standards of all working people with strict requirements. There is no doubt that with the developed scientific and technical revolution the main prerequisite for our successes will be our ability as a nation to create scientific values and to apply both our and foreign scientific accomplishments in production and in the other areas and activities of social life. That is why the first, main and mandatory concern

of the people and institutions in the spiritual sphere at the present stage is concern for enhancing the scientific standards of labor and the labor process.

In our country social labor is the main field in which man realizes himself. Naturally, this also increases our exigency concerning the spiritual sphere in seeking and finding new opportunities for the enhancement of labor wherever this is possible as of now to the level of the creative principle. For it is at that point, when the creative ability of the individual and his gift to create in accordance with the laws of beauty, as Karl Marx said, is awakened and realized in the course of labor, only then will labor give the greatest possible pleasure and joy to the working person and will be highly socially efficient.

The second direction is related to the harmonious and comprehensive upbringing, training and development of the socialist individual.

In the course of its future development, our society will be increasingly relying on individuals with unshakeable ideological and moral foundations, extensive knowledge, ability to think creatively and high general and professional standards, which will enable them to realize themselves in several areas. In raising such comprehensively developed individuals, our spiritual sphere will be making an increasing contribution to the building of mature socialism and will also prepare the historical results of the long years of struggle for communism--the comprehensively developed person.

The third direction is related to the growing class-party and ideological functions of our spiritual sphere.

The building of mature socialism under the circumstances of the international class struggle against imperialism demands of our spiritual front to work with increased energy and firmness for the ideological molding and the stability of the young generations and all working people, and blocking any attempts at exerting an ideological and political influence on our society alien to its nature. At the same time, it must contribute to the enhancement of our contribution to the spiritual treasury of mankind and to strengthening the influence of socialist culture in the modern world.

## 2. The Comprehensively Developed Personality Is a Specific Historical Task of Our Educational System

Comrades:

Socialist Bulgaria inherited from the Bulgarian kingdom a population with a low educational standard and weak training base.

I beg to be understood accurately. I do not forget that less than 7 decades passed between Bulgaria's liberation from 5 centuries of foreign yoke and 9 September 1944. I would allow myself even less to underestimate the love of our people of education and their readiness to work and to sacrifice for the sake of education, so eloquently proved in the course of these decades. I

accuse the bourgeois system of the fact that even with a people such as the Bulgarian people one-quarter of our population had no basic education.

After the victory of the socialist revolution there were more than 2 million illiterate or semi-illiterate people in the country. Naturally, the first task which the party set itself under those circumstances was to wipe out illiteracy and undertake a rapid enhancement of the educational standard of the people.

We achieved truly remarkable successes over the past almost 40 years. Here are a few comparisons: During the 1944/45 school year 11,000 students graduated from general high schools, compared to 27,000 in the 1982/83 school year. There were no secondary vocational schools in 1944/45; 38,700 people graduated from such schools in the 1982/83 school year. In 1983 25,400 people graduated from technical and art schools as against 2,500; 16,300 graduated from universities as compared to 1,900 in 1945. A total of 367,000 university-trained specialists completed their studies between 1945 and 1982.

Major changes occurred in the school structure as well. A broad network of 281 secondary vocational schools was created. The number of technical and art schools increased from 36 to 232 and of higher educational institutions from 5 to 29.

Such comparative data prove that the party and the people's regime continue to devote systematic and tireless efforts to develop education. The fact that a Bulgarian person today can produce complex machines, resolve difficult production problems and enjoy scientific and cultural achievements of national and international recognition is the historical accomplishment of the accurate policy of our party and the efforts of thousands of workers in public education.

Unquestionably, tremendous work has been accomplished. We can report with satisfaction that during those years our educational system created the engineers, agronomists, architects, economists, physicians, teachers, secondary technicians, and so on, so greatly needed by our country, who worked and are working with dedication and making an irreplaceable contribution to the building of socialist Bulgaria. The new stage in our social development, however, puts on the agenda qualitatively new tasks in the development of education as well.

What are they?

First, the task of linking more closely the educational system with the needs of our economy, culture and science and, in terms of its structure and organization, become much more consistent with the rapidly changing needs of the country for managerial and performing cadres.

Second, the task of giving the young people a type of education consistent with the contemporary achievements of science, technology and culture in general.



The third task is for the young people to acquire good professional training and social experience in the course of their training. It is necessary, and it is being done through a variety of methods, for all young people to acquire first-hand personal experience as a result of work in a plant, agro-industrial complex, scientific and cultural institution, and so on, in order to be prepared to practice the future profession and feel close to the environment in which they will be working tomorrow.

The solution of such qualitatively new assignments demanded a reform in education, which is currently under way. The problems of the reform have been developed extensively and in detail in the Thesis on the Reorganization of Education and in the resolutions of the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum. Let me recall here briefly a few basic features. As you know, the general objective set by the plenum in the field of education is to convert from discovering and developing individual features and capabilities in a person to discovering and developing his comprehensive capabilities, talents and qualities, and the shaping of a many-sided and, in the future, comprehensively developed individual who can fully realize himself in life.

What type of capabilities and qualities are we referring to?

Above all, comrades, it is a question of acquiring profound ideological convictions and high socialist consciousness as the basic characteristic features of the individual, as a necessary prerequisite for individual interests to be developed in harmony with the interests of society.

It is a question of high-level education and general standards and firm knowledge.

It is a question of professional training and mastering a profession on the level of contemporary scientific and technical achievements and the new requirements and criteria governing the quality of labor.

It is a question not only of solid knowledge but the ability independently, daringly and creatively to think and act, of a feeling for the new and ability for continuing independent training and self-advancement of the individual.

It would be no exaggeration to say that without developing such capabilities and qualities in the people on a mass scale our society will be unable to develop successfully and to advance rapidly.

The current reorganization of the educational system is based on the blending, naturally not the mechanical but the dialectical blending of the historically developed two trends in the educational process: the general educational and the professional.

The unified secondary polytechnical schools within which such a merger is taking place should educate and train the young people and give them a key to the wealth of knowledge, and teach them how to learn and how to live in accordance with the principles and norms of the socialist way of life. This

is a field of manifestation for the individual. It teaches the person to learn about himself and to test and apply his capabilities. It shapes in him a communist attitude toward labor and ensures his mastery of a profession with which he can confidently enter life.

The new unified secondary polytechnical school has three stages. The task of the first stage is to provide a broad educational training and to shape skills and lasting motivation for work, contemporary need for information, ability to master and apply knowledge, and so on. During the second stage a profession of a broad polytechnical nature is acquired along with some specialization; during the third stage the specific specialization is directly mastered under the conditions of the labor collective.

The reorganization of our higher education rests on the same foundation. Its first stage offers a basic general theoretical training in a specific professional direction. The main feature of the second stage is the orientation and training of specialists with broad skills. During the third stage we must provide specialization under the conditions of actual work, i.e., shape a high professional skill in the field of the studied subject.

As we know, the reorganization of our education is under way. Useful work has been done in drafting new school curricula and lists of specialties. The building of training-vocational complexes has been undertaken, and so on. The question of training within the school system children starting at the age of 6 has been resolved in its general lines. We have restored the renaissance tradition of having the people participate in resolving educational problems through school boards. Naturally, the results of a reorganization in education cannot and will not become immediately apparent. That is why we are not hastening with our summations. However, we cannot fail to realize that despite clear guidelines one does not always act purposefully. Yes, the reorganization of our education is a difficult, complex and lengthy process in the course of which our party and society rely exceptionally greatly on the noble work and struggle of the thousands-strong army of Bulgarian teachers and all workers in education and on the efforts and the interest of the entire society.

### 3. Science Is a Powerful Factor in the Overall Development of Society

Comrades:

The Bulgarian people have always had deep respect for science. Under capitalist conditions, however, they were unable to develop their forces in that area. The real blossoming of Bulgarian science began after the victory of the socialist revolution, and particularly after the historical April Plenum.

The first thing that was done was to develop a network of scientific research units in accordance with the needs of society and the contemporary scientific level. The number of scientific research institutes increased from 22 in 1948 to 184 in 1981 with a total of 22,900 scientific workers. Today we have working in the technical sciences 8,200 people; 4,400 are in medicine, 3,800 in the natural sciences, 2,000 in agriculture and 4,000 in the social

sciences. A total of 119 development and application bases and 49 experimental stations were built. Our science is increasingly penetrating in material production and in the basic levels of the country's socioeconomic development.

The level of skills of scientific cadres was increased significantly. We had 351 professors in 1956 as against 996 today; the number of docents increased from 347 to 2,113 and of senior scientific associates from 1,359 to 9,538. In 1981 our country had 685 doctors of sciences and 8,137 candidates of sciences.

The material and technical base of science is successfully developing as well. The party and the government are allocating substantial funds for this purpose. In 1981 alone 537 million leva were allocated for such purposes, including current expenditures for scientific research and experimental design.

As we can see, in its April policy the BCP pays exceptional attention to the development of science and the application of its achievements in the entire system of social life. The party formulated its strategy for the development of science in the course of building a developed socialist society on the basis of the new tasks.

I will not undertake to describe this strategy in its entirety. I wish merely to direct your attention to three aspects:

First, the selective development of scientific research in our country.

Second, our aspiration to make maximal use of discoveries abroad.

Third, the orientation toward the closest possible integration of our scientific potential with that of the Soviet Union and the intensification of scientific cooperation with all fraternal socialist countries.

We have a scientific front which is considerable considering the scale of the country and which we shall continue to broaden and develop. That is why the pace of investments in scientific activities outstrips capital investments in the national economy at large. The share of expenditures for scientific research and experimental design in terms of the 1981 national income was 2.3 percent. It is our intention and ambition to reach the level of the socialist countries behind which we are currently lagging in this respect by 2.4 percent behind the USSR, 1.9 percent behind the GDR, 1.6 percent behind Czechoslovakia and 1.4 percent behind Hungary.

We also realize that we are a small country and cannot be a scientific force in all areas. That is why we have adopted the selective approach and are concentrating our efforts mainly in scientific areas and trends directly related to the specialization of our national economy and the development of our social relations.

It is also clear that not only we but no one can develop successfully without applying the achievements of other countries, of world science and materialized global scientific work. Hence the stipulation of the decisive significance of the use of global scientific achievements in Bulgarian development, including the development of our science itself. In accordance with this stipulation, we must now radically change our attitude toward the application of such achievements in our country. Moral and material incentives in science must be restructured in such a way as to encourage the extensive application of foreign practical experience.

The party's strategy in science calls for major improvements in the organization and management of the scientific front.

Obviously, the forthcoming congress of Bulgarian science will deal with this matter in detail.

Science plays a decisive role in the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. This must be more fully reflected in the structure, organization and management of our scientific front. Vanguard technologies, which are so greatly necessary to our national economy, can be created and applied only and exclusively on the basis of major scientific discoveries, Bulgarian or foreign. Clear and definite priority must be given to units engaged in such work.

In the spirit of the resolutions of the 12th Congress greater rights and opportunities must be given to the scientific institutes, laboratories, and so on. Their initiative must be encouraged.

The complex tasks of building developed socialism call for the even fuller utilization of the collective mind of the Bulgarian scientific community. By this I mean the participation of scientists in the various methods for discussing important governmental, economic and other problems, programs, plans and initiatives. Whatever major project we may undertake, we should seek and secure the competent and comprehensive advice of the Bulgarian scientists. Any major initiative must be scientifically tested and only then must we decide what to undertake and how to undertake it.

We have frequently stressed the great need to listen and respect the opinions and views of the Bulgarian scientist and to value highly his personality and work. Our party has done a great deal to ensure the social recognition of the efforts of scientific workers in the course of the extensive practical utilization of science. Once again today, however, we must reassess what to do in order to enhance even higher the prestige of the Bulgarian scientist who, through individual scientific contributions or contributions in the application of foreign scientific accomplishments, accounts for a worthy share of our comprehensive progress.

4. Literature and Art Are an Irreplaceable Force of Influence on the Consciousness and Spirituality of Man

Comrades:



The contemporary Bulgarian culture has its rich class-proletarian traditions which encompass all the valuable and progressive features of the previous culture. Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of our party, is also the founder of these traditions. From those first days to the present to us, Bulgarian communists, and the BCP, literature and art have always been an important structural component of social life and concern for their development has always been an essential feature of party policy, theory and practice.

The struggle of our party for a "tendentious literature," for works of art which, in the words of Dimitur Blagoev, would "represent in immortal characters and pictures the meaning of their time," brought about, as early as the turn of the century, the appearance of the first shoots of proletarian literature in Bulgaria. Subsequently, under the influence of the ideas of Lenin and the Great October Revolution and with the example of Soviet culture, an innovative socialist realistic literature was born and established in our country. During the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, although persecuted, stopped, and banned, dozens of party literary newspapers and periodicals were published in the country. During that time works and classical models of our socialist realistic literature and art were created. During the 1920s and 1930s the first creative organizations of writers, painters and actors, guided by the party, were also established. The most talented Bulgarian writers, painters, actors, composers and architects, the flower of the Bulgarian creative genius, marched in the ranks of the party and, with it, in the battle against capitalism. Prepared by its entire previous development, the predominant share of the artistic and creative intelligentsia stood under the banner of the socialist cultural revolution after 9 September 1944.

Comrades:

I think that all of us agree on the following: Bulgarian socialist culture has covered a long and fruitful way of growth and has entered its stage of maturity. Today we have and are creating increasingly favorable objective and subjective conditions for enhancing its social role and influence.

How are these new conditions manifested?

Changes are taking place in the social structure of the society and in its educational and spiritual growth; the aesthetic interests of the people are increasing and their cultural outlook is broadening. The amount of leisure time is increasing, for nearly one-third of the year consists of nonworking days.

Culture is becoming an increasingly powerful factor in economic development. Its importance in developing creative labor activeness and enhancing the efficiency of management and organization is growing. Socialist civilization is inconceivable without high standards of the environment, the way of life and the individual, and without introducing aesthetic principles in production and in overall human activities. Cultural standards determine to the greatest extent the active life stance of the individual and shape and develop his creative principles.

The development of socialist democracy and the line of directly involving the broad people's masses in management equally presume and demand the steady enhancement of the consciousness, a healthy Marxist-Leninist outlook and high moral qualities in the individual.

The achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in the mass information media, offering new and unparalleled opportunities for establishing contacts with millions of people, offer tremendous scope for expanding the range and influence of artistic culture.

We can equally not ignore the fact that the contemporary acute ideological struggle and the persistent efforts of our enemies to influence us ideologically demand a clear civic stance to be taken by the individual, in the shaping of which artistic culture participates most actively.

Furthermore, the very building of mature socialism not only means economic progress but a development and ascension of spiritual life.

All of this demands of us--the party, the creative associations and the people of culture--to apply continuing efforts to ensure the blossoming of artistic culture and upgrading its social efficiency in all areas of life.

The party has indicated the three inexhaustible sources for the enrichment of Bulgarian socialist culture: the thousand-year-old Bulgarian culture, the revolutionary, people's democratic and proletarian cultural traditions in particular; our socialist contemporaneity with all of its accomplishments, conflicts, varieties and comprehensiveness; the global progressive culture, the heights reached by the human genius and the successes of socialist culture, that of Soviet culture above all.

Systematically, at all of its congresses, the party has emphasized that the key task in literature and art is the artistic recreation of socialist contemporaneity, of the working people with their high moral qualities, and of the positive character--the maker of social progress. Mature socialism needs artistic discoveries and masterpieces national in form and socialist in nature, dealing with socialist reality in its entire significance, scale and historical optimism, works of our age of lasting and intransient universal significance.

The tremendous effective and ennobling role of literature and art has always rested in the ability of the positive character to captivate the person and to become an example for emulation. We favor a vivid and impressive artistic depiction of the hero of our time. This task was well-received by the creative associations.

It is true that fears have been expressed that this requirement will turn us back to the schematic "ideal character." This fear is groundless. Why? Above all because this is not the type of character we are discussing, and because our creative workers have long surmounted idealizing and schematism and have greatly advanced in their ability to penetrate into the complex nature of man and to create characters. The time has come to advance even

further, to surmount the conscious or subconscious deheroization and the author's inner fear of the great creative task, and boldly to undertake to recreate the image of the character who lives his rich life among us, who possesses the best political, moral and labor virtues and who is not deprived of weaknesses or shortcomings but who develops and improves his qualities and grows in the course of historical creativity.

We realize that the creation of a full-blooded rather than schematic theoretical character of the positive hero is a difficult job. This requires talent and high artistic skills. However, even this is not enough. This character must be recognizable. The wealth of prototypes in real life must be mastered. Assignments and "landings" are of no help in this case. Decisive steps must be taken to direct the creative work toward working and spiritual world of the heroes in our life, who are truly worthy of becoming characters in literature and art.

Literary and art criticism must perform more consistently and energetically its role as an efficient form of party guidance of the artistic creative process.

In recent years our criticism has shown obvious improvement. Practical criticism has become energized and the scope of its artistic coverage has been broadened. We can see a growing professionalism, an analytical approach and problem interpretation. Critics of all generations are working fruitfully and new names have appeared. In assessing the increased possibilities of criticism the 12th Party Congress drew the attention to some of its essential shortcomings: cases of lack of class evaluation--of one-side professional analysis--ignoring the question of the social significance of the artistic fact; neglect of the specific historical approach and the idealizing of the past; praises dictated by various motivations at variance with the ideological and aesthetic qualities of a work, and so on.

Today our critics need higher social activeness as much as civic tone, combined with the highest possible professionalism, and a fine sense and ability to compare artistic with real facts. We expect of the critics an interested and involved participation in the work and struggle for the artistic recreation of our times.

The purposeful activities of the leadership of the Committee for Culture, and the leaderships and party organizations of the creative unions are an exceptionally important factor in substantially enhancing the role of literature and art in the life of our people. All moral and material incentives and all levers at the disposal of our society must be used in resolving this major problem.

Comrades:

The next question I would like to discuss deals with the need to ensure a consistency between the growth of the people's material prosperity and their cultural standard.

The December 1972 BCP Central Committee Plenum emphasized that upgrading the material well-being is not a self-seeking aim. Socialist social development presumes the unified satisfaction of material with spiritual requirements. In practice, however, the rise in the material standards is not always consistent with a corresponding rise in cultural needs. Furthermore, increased material well-being and leisure time trigger sudden contradictory processes and, to a certain extent, create prerequisites for the appearance of a consumerist mentality in which material objects overshadow and even replace cultural interests in the people's value orientation. This means that conscious educational and organizational activities are needed and so are proper material conditions for awakening and satisfying spiritual requirements.

Despite the great cultural growth of our people as a whole, sociological studies have indicated substantial gaps in the standards of individual social and age groups or areas. That is why we must now focus our efforts on implementing the tasks set by the 12th Congress: Bulgarian socialist culture must penetrate to an even greater extent the plants, farms and homes of the working people; contacts with the values of literature and arts must become a vital need for the broadest possible popular masses; they must be the source of human spirit and vitality, and inspiration for work, creativity and life. It is to the honor of our party that at its 10th Congress it set the question of aesthetic upbringing as a programmatic task and that with the program for nationwide aesthetic upbringing, which was drafted under the guidance of the Committee for Culture, it earmarked the main objectives and ways and means leading to its implementation.

The young people must remain in the center of our aesthetic and educational activities. A great deal has been done. In some cases, however, the actual interests of the young people have not been met. It is imperative, for example, to consider the question of the ratio between the serious and entertaining aspects in cultural activities. Entertaining does not mean trivial. Our cultural institutions, units, organs and people must not forget that their role is not to be led, as they frequently are, by the tastes and demands of an insignificant number of young people, but to lead, to shape tastes and needs, to attract and to expose the people to the great accomplishments of the human spirit.

Today we face the task of creating optimal material conditions for the elimination of the uneven dissemination of cultural values among the various territories and social and age groups for the development and updating of the material and technical facilities of artistic culture, radio, television and the other mass information media.

Naturally, all of this will take place in accordance with the possibilities of the society. However, we already have a material base for culture tremendous in terms of the scale of our country. However, it is mandatory to improve its organization, so that it could be used sensibly, in a uniform and efficient way, regardless of departmental affiliations.

Improving further the quality and efficiency of our international cultural activities and expanding and strengthening cultural relations with the



socialist countries and progressive global culture is of great importance to us. This particularly refers to the intensification of cooperation and increasing rapprochement between Bulgarian and Soviet culture, the unification of socialist cultural forces in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and culture and upgrading the leading role and influence of socialist literature and art in the cultural life of humanity.

All that was said so far means that we must further improve the party leadership of artistic culture from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top.

The further enhancement of the leading role played by the party in culture demand that the party's leadership be based on the qualitative, meaningful and ideological aspects of artistic creativity and cultural efforts and the setting of high criteria regarding their social effectiveness. We must significantly improve our care of the creative cadres, particularly the young, and create a better organized system for their ideological-theoretical and professional training and realization. Particular attention should be paid to the ideological-political and organizational strengthening of the party organizations in the realm of culture and their leading role and efficiency.

Our party stands on clear Leninist positions. It favors freedom of creativity and encourages innovative searches and stylistic variety based on socialist realism. It opposes bureaucratic supervision and gross intervention in the creative process. However, to us literature and art are part of the all-party, all-proletarian and, under contemporary conditions, nationwide cause and the party will persistently struggle for the creative process to continue to develop under the banner of the common struggle for the triumph of communism.

Comrades:

Today in our country and abroad people are talking of a "new golden century" of Bulgarian culture; Bulgarian is referred to as a "country of the spirit;" it is known for the trust which the party has in workers in education, science and culture, and the moral and material conditions which both it and the socialist state provide for the blossoming of the spiritual sphere. The entire world is witnessing the unreserved support which the Bulgarian scientific and artistic and creative intelligentsia is giving to the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

If we look for the roots of this blossoming and, in general, of this state of affairs in such a specific and delicate area, we would unquestionably discover them in the basic political, theoretical and practical work of the BCP. Ever since it was founded, the party has followed, developed and enriched a priceless tradition: emphatic interest in the successful development of progressive literature and art, science and education; comradely respect and recognition for all talented creative workers and personalities and attention and concern for their realization; active individual participation by the most noted party leaders in the theoretical and practical illumination and guidance of our cultural development.

Such was the case under Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. Such is the way we have tried to follow after the April BCP Central Committee Plenum.

I already spoke of the April line in the spiritual sphere. At this point I want to reemphasize that if today in our country there is neither dogmatism nor revisionism in artistic and scientific circles; if teachers, instructors, scientists and men of literature and the arts, journalists and all workers in Bulgarian culture are rallied around the party and its April line; if the atmosphere is calm and favorable for creative work and if we are enjoying the manifestation of "good and different" talents, all of this is largely also due to the fact that despite its respect or, rather, precisely because its profound respect, well-wishingness and trust in the workers in culture, the party's Central Committee does not ignore weaknesses, errors and confusions. It does not play tricks, engage in cheap diplomacy or flattery but conducts a serious and frank principled discussion with them.

Dear comrades, as I conclude this lecture, I must stress once again the exceptional significance of the sociostate and state-social principle in managing the spiritual sphere. The combination of our traditions of the renaissance in this direction with the requirements of socialist democracy led to a theoretical discovery which enabled us to combine in the management of culture the interests of society with those of the workers in literature, the arts, science and education. The reciprocal trust existing between the party and the workers in culture and the sociostate and state-social management of the spiritual sphere speak of the growth of the Bulgarian intelligentsia which has accepted as its own the party's cultural line and policy.

This is our tremendous accomplishment. It is as yet to develop and intensify and yield rich returns.

Comrades:

To sum it up, the blossoming of artistic culture and successes in science and education in socialist Bulgaria are due to the firm implementation of the April policy in the spiritual sphere. This policy dialectically combines the scientific-creative principle, high principle-mindedness, class irreconcilability and a Marxist-Leninist uncompromising nature with a profound understanding of the specifics of spiritual activities and the scope and concern for the proper development and manifestation of talent and fast reaction to the new problems which appear in the life of society in general and in cultural life in particular.

We see in the firm pursuit of the Leninist April line and policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party the way to the further development of education, science, literature and art and the guarantee for the steady material and spiritual upsurge of our people and socialist Bulgaria.

## Lecture No 5

### The Development and Advancement of the Political System of the Socialist Society Is the Historical Gain of the Party's April Line

Comrades:

We, communists, pay great attention to politics, the political approach and the development of the political system. This is no accident. Political means are used to resolve the basic problems of our economic life--the nationalization of productive capital, the organization of economic life on the scale of the entire country, the participation of the country in international economic processes, planning the allocations in the development of the national economy, and so on. Naturally, the same applies to culture, science and the other areas of social life.

Lenin teaches us that without political guidance no new society can successfully resolve its production task and ensure the actual participation of millions of working people in the management of public affairs in building socialism.

Clearly aware of all this, since April 1956 our party has been systematically following a line of steady development and advancement of the socialist political system in Bulgaria.

Allow me now to direct your attention to several basic problems.

#### 1. The Marxist-Leninist Nature of the April Line of Development and Advancement of the Socialist Political System in Bulgaria

The theory of the socialist political system was developed by Marx and Engels. Its basic concepts were developed in their works on the role of the working class and the communist party, the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so on.

Headed by Karl Kautsky, the leaders of the Second International retreated from the positions held by Marx and Engels on such problems. This made it necessary for Vladimir Il'ich Lenin especially to undertake the restoration, as he said himself, of the truth regarding the Marxist view of the state and the revolution. When the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution thundered and the question of building the socialist political system faced the world's labor movement as an immediate practical task, he further developed Marxist theory in that direction.

The communist movement the world over owes to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin the streamlined theory of the functions and social role of the communist party, the functions and social role of the socialist state and the objectives and tasks of the trade unions, the youth organizations and the other organs and institutions of the socialist political system. Lenin also deserves historical credit for the first practical application of the theory of the socialist political system, which was accomplished in the Soviet Union under his guidance during the first years after the Great October Revolution.

Lenin's work was continued and developed with the tremendous theoretical and practical work which was done to develop the political superstructure of socialism, carried out by the CPSU and the Soviet people. When our party began to resolve the problem of building new political relations, it could rely on a strong, scientifically substantiated and practically tested manual for action based on the rich lessons of Soviet experience: the Marxist-Leninist concepts and principles of party, state and social life.

At the same time, our party has always taken into consideration Bulgarian reality and sought its own solutions most adequate to us. In this respect we have acquired rich experience and traditions. Suffice it to recall the achievements of Blagoev and the left-wing socialists in building the party and the trade union movement, the experience gained in the work and struggle for a Leninist party course and the great political discoveries made by Georgi Dimitrov--the Fatherland Front and the People's Democratic State.

Most generally speaking, the BCP was guided in the building and development of the socialist political system in our country, and still does, by the general laws and principles of social development, the international communist and worker movements and Marxist-Leninist theory, bearing in mind the specific features of Bulgarian sociohistorical reality and our own theoretical and political experience.

To what general laws and principles are we referring? First, the objective law of Marxist-Leninist theory that history is made by the people.

We know that the importance of this concept was heavily emphasized at the April Plenum.

In his famous article "The Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet System" Lenin wrote that socialism, unlike capitalism, cannot rely on the uncontrolled effect of a marketplace economy; it cannot use the people's masses exclusively for the destructive tasks of the revolution.

Socialism can develop only if it is based on the independent social and political creativity of the broadest possible popular masses. That is precisely why our faces and hearts are turned to the people. We rely on their practical strength, mind and initiative and their creative potential. Therefore, all of us should well remember that the party's policy, which is aimed at involving the broadest possible popular masses in conscious and active participation in events, is a manifestation of an objective social law rather than good will on the part of leaders on different levels. That is precisely



why socialist democracy is an essential feature of our political system; that is precisely why the development and advancement of socialist democracy is the main way for the development and advancement of our society. That is precisely why, as Lenin said, the socialist state is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois state.

Secondly, we are guided by the law discovered by Marx according to which the working class is the main class political force on which the development of the socialist constructive process is based. It is the class related to the latest production methods. It is the only class which can guide society without becoming its exploiter. It is a class which can express the interests of the entire society.

The BCP has always assigned a decisive role to the working class in its entire policy toward the class forces in our society. It is on the basis of the positions of the Bulgarian working class that the party forged a class alliance with the Bulgarian peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, without which neither the victory of the 9 September revolution nor the constructive work which followed it would have been imaginable.

Thirdly, our party has always been guided by the general law expressed in the Marxist-Leninist stipulation of the decisive leading role of the communist party in the entire system of socialist political life. This concept is based on Lenin's theory of the party as the leading detachment, the vanguard of the working class. By virtue of its social composition and its scientific ideology and politics, and by virtue of its internal organization, based on democratic centralism, the communist party is the only one which can lead the working class and the people's masses in the struggle for socialism consistently and persistently, always with a view to reaching the final objectives and always in consideration with the characteristics of the historical stages along this way.

Fourthly, our party has always been guided by the concepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin of the two functions of the socialist state. As we know, the first is the defense of the revolution. A revolution which cannot defend itself is worth nothing, Lenin said. As the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state has the responsibility of defending the victorious socialist revolution from the attempts of domestic and international reaction to seek revenge against the victorious proletariat. The manifestation of this protective function and its dimensions depend on the strength of bourgeois opposition. On the domestic level its importance diminishes in the very course of the building of socialism. However, it does not lose its role on the international level, as long as a foreign threat exists.

The other function, which is primary and decisive, is the constructive function of the socialist state. As Lenin anticipated, it is precisely through the organs, institutions and other means of the socialist state that the party can mobilize not only the party members and workers but all working people and all social strata for constructive work in building the new society.

Fifthly, our party has always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that the struggle for socialism is the international matter of the workers and working people the world over.

In that distant year of 1891, on Buzludzha Peak, our party loudly proclaimed that it considered itself an inseparable part of the global revolutionary worker movement. "Workers of the world, unite!" was the great appeal by Marx and Engels under which it was born and to which it remained loyal despite all vicissitudes of Bulgaria's historical destiny.

Based on the international nature of the building of socialism, in building and developing the political system in our country the party relied and is relying on the theoretical developments and practical experience of the fraternal socialist countries, that of the CPSU and the USSR above all. At the same time, it is ready to share and is sharing extensively its experience and successes in this area.

These are the main overall laws and principles which have been guiding the April line of building and advancing the political system of our socialist society. Practical experience confirmed their significance and strength. Our party developed a stable political system: We have no class, national or other social hostilities and struggles; we have no class political opposition to socialism; the Bulgarian people are united around the party.

At the same time, we must clearly emphasize that the April line in building the political system does not mean the obligation of ready-made prescriptions and cliches. It is not a mechanical duplication of foreign experience or the transplant of artificial political organs in Bulgarian political reality. The April policy is a Marxist-Leninist policy and that is precisely why it is a creative policy and a creative application of the general principles and laws of Marxist-Leninist theory. It is a policy of the study of the characteristics of Bulgarian sociohistorical reality from Marxist-Leninist positions, a policy of consistent consideration of the needs and interests of the Bulgarian people, which are the center and the very heart of this policy.

Which are these interests and needs of the Bulgarian people who were and remain our support in building, developing and advancing the socialist political system in Bulgaria?

I shall discuss briefly those of main, of basic significance.

First. Our political system is based on the interests of the whole people.

Everyone in Bulgaria knows that the successes achieved by an individual, a collective, an okrug, a class, and so on, lead to success for the entire society, the entire people. Everyone benefits from this interest of the whole people through the social consumption funds and opportunities to work, learn, and so on.

Second. Our party relies on the constructive power of the working individual.

The activeness of the working person--worker, cooperative farmer and people's intelligentsia--is the foundation of the political system of our society. On the one hand, the socialist individual participates in the entire system of social management through the instruments of direct and representative democracy. On the other hand, his place and participation in social management depend on his contribution to the national interests and the quality and quantity of his work. It is with this that our political reality offers the individual scope for work, enhancement and progress, which makes it attractive to the people.

Third. We have relied on the creative potential of the Bulgarian communist, a potential acquired throughout the entire history of the worker movement in our country.

As we know, during the early socialist period Dimitur Blagoev was among the first in the world to point at the socialist way as the sociohistorical solution for backward nations. He discovered new territories and scope for the struggle waged by the workers for socialism.

The creative work of Georgi Dimitrov was another great achievement by a Bulgarian communist. His contributions to socialist policy remain a manual for action in many countries and peoples who need the experience of a united front and people's democracy.

In developing and pursuing its April line under the new conditions, our party continued this tradition of creative attitude toward scientific communism and the problems of reality. It found original political solutions which have already become internationally recognized in the theory and practice of building the socialist political system.

The development of the socialist political system in our country did not begin in April 1956. In its essential line it was created by the party under the guidance of Georgi Dimitrov after 9 September, under very difficult domestic and international conditions. Violations of and deviations from the Leninist norms of party and social life, which were allowed during the period of the cult of personality, created difficulties in building socialism but were unable to lead the party and the people astray from the course of building socialism, as earmarked at the Fifth Congress.

The Leninist principles and norms of party and social life were restored by the party's leadership at the April 1956 Plenum. Since then there have been many landmarks in the building of our political system and its development and advancement. To be fair, we should stress after the April Plenum the role of the July 1968 Central Committee Plenum, which formulated the overall policy of improving the management processes in our country; the 10th Party Congress, which adopted the program for building a developed socialist society in our country, which defined the tasks in the development and advancement of political life; and the 12th Congress, which drafted a program for the further development and advancement of our political system and socialist democracy.

## 2. On the Structure of Our Political System and the Basic Functions of the Political Organizations

Twenty-seven years have passed since the April Plenum. This is a short period in terms of history, but quite sufficient as a period of time for the extensive development of a socialist society, for changes in the political system and for an assessment of what we have accomplished and what we have failed to accomplish; where we have succeeded and where we have not.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has reasons to be satisfied by the development of our socialist political life. As a member of the generation which carried out the struggle against fascism and capitalism, I know what it means for a nation to be divided by the barricades of the class struggle. That is why to the people of my generation, who have seen the bad and the good, the ideological-political and moral unity of the Bulgarian people is particularly precious. Today we, the Bulgarian citizens of today, are united and cohesive as a nation and a people by the ideas and cause of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its April policy, the gains of real socialism in our homeland, and our pride of the place and role of socialist Bulgaria in the struggle waged by mankind for freedom, independence, peace and friendship among the peoples, for material and spiritual progress and for communism.

The ideological-political and moral unity of the people is not merely a great gain. It is also a powerful factor in our successful past and future development. Let me emphasize that in this case the April policy and spirit deserve particular credit. The members of my generation remember both the times of class confrontation and those of commands and administrative coercion. The April wind, as the poets say, cleared this oppressive atmosphere. It opened opportunities for the interests of the individual, for local interests; it opened opportunities for the interests of the various social groups and classes and the national interest as a whole. The Bulgarian people realized that their personal chances for advancement and enhancement were in the general stream of the building of socialism and work and efforts for the good of society. The Bulgarian people gambled on their active participation in the common cause and, as we know, both they and Bulgaria achieved unparalleled successes and victories.

As communists we consider ensuring the leading role of the communist party and the working class in all units and on all levels of the social administration of public life a great gain of our political system. The leading status of the communist party and the working class has been secured everywhere, from the National Assembly to the lowest leading body. This is not merely a simple act of representation. It is a question of positions on the basis of which the problems of social life are resolved. In our country the communists, the workers play the main role. They have the final word in making decisions on social problems of all kinds and varieties. This leading position of the communist party and the working class is the base for the building and development of the political and social unity of our people, for the communists have no interests other than those of the people, and for the interests of the workers are actually the true interests of the people. The communists', the workers' solution of social problems is also the true solution of the people, the true solution in its interest.



Many other major political successes achieved during those years may be listed as well. For example, the fact that our young people march under our red banner and that the Bulgarian scientific and artistic intelligentsia are working and creating for the communist cause are successes of invaluable significance. We can also only be proud of the high international prestige enjoyed by the BCP, the Bulgarian socialist state, and so on.

These achievements have their economic reasons. As to the significance and role of the political system as a factor in achieving such successes, the main thing I would like to emphasize is the fact that during those years a streamlined structure of the socialist political system was established and functioned successfully and efficiently. This is a global achievement, for as we know the working class and the communist party cannot use the bourgeois political machine for their class objectives. This problem was clarified by Marx himself, who wrote on the subject of the Paris Commune that the proletariat must destroy and reject the bourgeois political machine and develop new political organs and institutions consistent with its sociohistorical mission.

In our country the building of a socialist political system covered a complex path. Immediately after 9 September, as a result of objective international and domestic conditions, we developed under circumstances of a specific political pluralism. However, this was not an artificially created but a natural historical phenomenon under the then prevailing circumstances. Kimon Georgiev, the first prime minister of free Bulgaria, belonged to the Zveno bourgeois democratic political circle. The Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, the Social Democratic Party and the Radical Party had their own ministers, deputies, mayors, and so on. The communist party was the leading political force which had earned its status as a result of decades of dedicated and systematic struggle in the service of the working people.

Life, however, is in a state of perpetual motion. Historical conditions change and so do the tasks and forms of political struggle. The changes which took place in the economy and the socioclass structure of the country were legitimately reflected in the structure, composition and tasks of the Fatherland Front. Some of the members of the Social Democratic Party joined the ranks of the communist party, while others joined the Fatherland Front. Zveno and the Radical Party voluntarily disbanded and also merged with the Fatherland Front.

The leaders of these parties continued to make their contribution to our social development within the Fatherland Front and the state management system. Noted among them is the great personality of Kimon Georgiev, a real patriot of new Bulgaria, who as prime minister, minister and public personality worked with dedication for the development of Fatherland Front Bulgaria and is deservedly remembered by the people as a noted Bulgarian statesman.

Unfortunately, violations of the Leninist norms of party, state and social life led to negative phenomena and created difficulties in our political development. The role of the Fatherland Front and the trade unions was underestimated. The administrative functions of many state organs were

unjustifiably strengthened and violations of the law were committed. The Komsomol emulated the party. Local interests were grossly neglected and, in many cases, so were those of individuals.

Under those circumstances, after April 1956 the party faced a difficult task which demanded time and a great deal of effort. It is true that there was no need for the creation of new structural elements of the political system. However, the task of ensuring the proper activities by the existing structural units proved to be no less difficult. Methods of administrative ordering had sunk deep roots and that was the main factor which hindered the organs of the political system in playing their true role.

The work which was done by the party to restore the Leninist norms and principles in the functioning and development of the political system is striking for its scope and significance. I do not think that weaknesses and shortcomings and, in some cases, even excesses are not found in this area. I think, however, that we can openly say that today in our country an efficiently developed political system operates in the interests of the people and the working person, a system which covers all settlements, labor units and collectives within which one form of social life or another is taking place. Furthermore, all classes and larger social groups are represented properly within the structure of our political system and, on the basis of their social importance, participate in the administration of the country.

In this connection, let me review very briefly the activities of the main social organizations and state institutions.

I shall discuss the Bulgarian Communist Party in a separate lecture, for which reason I shall begin directly with the trade unions.

The Bulgarian trade unions are a powerful organization of the working class and all working people. Our party counts on the trade unions in the implementation of its policy in the areas of labor and labor relations and the social protection of the working person. At the same time, the trade unions must react quickly and uncompromisingly against any waste of public property, violations of labor discipline or any other action which may harm the public and private interests of the working people.

Now the trade unions have the right to organize the activities of the labor collective and its collective management organs, which were established in connection with the new economic approach and its mechanism. They will be the public guarantor for the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism and the more extensive and deeper participation of the workers and all working people in managing production and economic activities.

The enhancement of the role of the trade unions after the April Plenum was directly related to the enrichment and manifestation of their protective functions in terms of the individual working person and the entire labor collective. Looking back, we can see that the trade unions defended the rights of dozens or perhaps even hundreds of thousands of people.

Naturally, the working person in Bulgaria has firm political opportunities for his social protection not only with the help of the trade unions. He has his defender in the organs of the socialist state and the BCP itself to which, as is well-known, any working person, any citizen may address himself on any subject.

The Fatherland Front is our most widespread sociopolitical organization with a rich history. It is engaged in significant and varied activities. Before the April Plenum it was considered by some leaders that the mission of the Fatherland Front had been exhausted. The party accurately assessed that its mission had not been completed. The stipulation according to which the Fatherland Front should fluctuate from an organization to a movement and from a movement to an organization created conditions for broadening and increasing the variety of its activities and involvement of a much larger number of working people within it and its enrichment with tasks and functions which are not of a direct political nature but of unquestionable political significance.

Thus, for example, the Fatherland Front deserves much credit for its work in the self-satisfaction and improving services and all other economic activities of an auxiliary nature, in improving the hygiene and urbanization of settlements, and so on. The Fatherland Front plays a great role in informing the people's masses of the activities of the state organs and the study of public opinion as a base for taking into consideration the needs and interests of the working people and enhancing their social activeness and initiative. Currently, with the cooperation of the municipalities, the Fatherland Front organizations are establishing bureaus in charge of using the work of pensioners and that of workers and specialists in their free time. Unquestionably, this will enhance their political and social influence among the people.

The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is a major social force in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The party gave it a strong position within the social management system, and today the Komsomol has extensive rights and powers which enable it to be the direct spokesman for and defender of the interests of the Bulgarian youth and to rise and assert itself as their political organizer and principal social guarantor of the effective realization of the young generation and its increasingly active participation in all forms of sociopolitical life.

We can say that the Komsomol played a historical role in creating for our society a politically mature, highly educated and comprehensively active youth of whom all of us are proud. The Komsomol deserves tremendous, immeasurable and invaluable historical credit, in the full meaning of the term, for not only training the future members of the communist party but, after 9 September and, particularly, in the period after the April Central Committee Plenum, it communized--if one may use this word--the broad people's masses and transfused young communist blood in the veins of an entire nation.

The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union plays a particularly important role in the political system of our society.

As we know, the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] adopted the party's general line for building socialism in Bulgaria and is working for its implementation. This was the result of a long and natural evolution of the healthy forces within the BZNS itself, an evolution from united front aspirations to full and close cooperation in building the new, the socialist Bulgarian village. The BZNS has given many active builders of socialism, among whom Georgi Traykov, the noted political personality of socialist Bulgaria, stands out. Today the BZNS has its own deputies in the National Assembly, its ministers and representatives in all areas of social and state management. Its members are actively participating in building developed socialism. The political voice of the BZNS is well-known as a voice of peace and democratic peasant movements the world over. The achievements of our political system also include a number of social organizations and organs, such as the Bulgarian-Soviet friendship committees, the peace committees, and the scientific, artistic, sports and other organizations, which express one aspiration or another of our people or of some of its circles. These organizations were established and play a useful role in the political superstructure system and are making their contribution to the international reputation of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Unquestionably, one of the greatest achievements in the structure of our political system is the developed organization of the state. The Bulgarian state organization is well-known--the National Assembly, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, ministries, people's councils and so on. This state organization reaches every working person. The working people are represented in its various units or are directly participating in its activities. Through the state organization the party and our society carry out the overall economic, social and other activities which cover all citizens, the entire nation.

The main function of our socialist state is the creation, the process of socialist construction. It is responsible for this to the party and the state and this is what it must report to society on various levels. Along with this, through its organs such as the people's army, the people's militia, the courts and the prosecutor's office, the state reliably protects the homeland against political and other encroachments by imperialist forces, all types of violators of social political order and the social order and socialist discipline.

The Bulgarian socialist state also performs the responsible mission of representing the interests of our people to the rest of the world. We are a small but respected country; we are a small people but a people who is loved and valued for its achievements, dedication to peace and labor, respect for other countries and peoples, and just and incorruptible position in the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. And, as is well-known, the voice of the Bulgarian state is heard firmly and convincingly in all international forums.

Generally speaking, comrades, we can say that the structure of the political system in our country ensures the dynamic development of society and contributes to the successful building of a developed socialist society.



### 3. Enhancing the Role of Primary Units and the Working Individual Is the Main Content of the Process of Advancement of Our Political System

According to a general consensus, the 12th Party Congress was historical in terms of the development of our party's April line. This assessment was based essentially on the congress's stipulations regarding the further development and advancement of the socialist political system and socialist democracy.

It is legitimate to ask what made it necessary for our party's 12th Congress to consider problems of the political system? As we know, there were no failures. The reasons lay elsewhere.

As Marxists-Leninists, we are guided by the view that the development of the political system is determined by the quantitative and qualitative changes in the material and technical base and the development of the socioclass structure and socioeconomic relations within society.

At the same time, as Marxists-Leninists, we take into consideration the fact that the active feedback of the political system to the base can be accomplished effectively if it not only passively follows and reflects changes in the condition of the base but is retuned in such a way as actively to contribute to making the type of positive changes which should legitimately take place in the economy and the entire system of social life.

The fuller expansion of the forces and possibilities of the political system and the implementation of the type of changes within it which would increase its feedback to the socioeconomic base were the objective reasons which made it necessary for the 12th Congress to deal with the problems of the political superstructure, as the essential purpose in perfecting our political system.

That is why our first task was to see to it that the advancement of the political system be directed toward providing full scope for the implementation of our new socioeconomic strategy.

The changes in the political superstructure which were earmarked at the 12th Congress and after it should be such as to help and guarantee the changes which we are now making in the economic base of society: the application of the new economic approach and mechanism; the full utilization of commodity-monetary relations in the interest of socialist progress; the organization of proper and regulated relations between the rights and obligations of the state as the owner and the labor collectives as managers of socialist property.

At the same time, improvements in the political system should be such as to help remove a number of weaknesses and shortcomings in our social life.

A more profound consideration of the weaknesses and shortcomings of economic development would reveal that they are backed by weaknesses and shortcomings related to the inefficiency of the political system and of some of its institutions or organs. Thus, for example, we may come across an irresponsible

attitude toward socialist property, due to the fact that our political control organs are ineffective. Elsewhere we may see a poor initiative-mindedness of the working people and labor collectives, due to the fact that superior organs and organizations exert petty supervision over them. Elsewhere again we can come across erroneous economic or other managerial decisions based on scorn for collective management. Some weaknesses are related to violations of the one-man command principle; weaknesses caused by pitting departmental and parochial against public interests; weaknesses stemming from shortcomings of individual managers, and so on.

We know how important it is today decisively to accelerate the process of application of vanguard technologies and major scientific discoveries in production practice. In this connection, the task is to create the type of social climate in which the problem of high quality will concern everyone and in which everyone will be responsible for high production quality. The conditions without which we cannot take even a single step forward in the struggle for production quality include high and conscious planning, contractual, technological, labor, financial and monetary discipline. We equally well know that this process is still being hindered by bureaucratic obstacles, by people unwilling to abandon familiar routines and by rules and regulations which resemble a prime reader and have long lost their importance without, unfortunately, losing their role as hindrances in this process.

Do we have the forces and possibilities for implementing the tasks we have set ourselves?

Yes, we do, for the inexhaustible potential at the disposal of our society is found in the creative and constructive forces of the people as a whole and of every individual separately. We shall rely on this potential in improving our political system. That is why the only purpose of changing it is to upgrade the participation of the working person in all jobs, settlements and organizational-management units in resolving the problems and tasks in the field of economic, political and cultural construction, developing the political activeness of all working people and achieving a new upsurge and blossoming of his creative forces. That is why the main direction along which we shall advance our political system is the development of socialist democracy.

To us the development of socialist democracy is not a slogan, an indicator we would like to reach in order to be able to boast to the world but a vital necessity. As communists, as Marxists-Leninists, we know very well that people apply their practical and mental forces in order to satisfy their own needs and interests. We also know very well that the activity of the people increases to the extent to which the satisfaction of their needs and interests depends on themselves. That is why it is not only by necessity but also by conviction that we are seeking ways, means and methods to develop and expand socialist democracy.

We consider the primary units--the obshtinas and the labor collectives--the primary levels--crucial aspects in the development and advancement of socialist democracy.

The main problems of the individual--material, political, administrative, cultural, social, and so on--are resolved in the obshtinas, the settlements and the labor collectives. A person must feel comfortable above all in his own labor collective and settlement. This is the main guarantee for making him feel satisfied as a citizen of the state and a member of society. This is an old verity but today we have grounds and obligations to face it more than ever before and to rely on it in the current development of our political system.

This is because the building of a mature socialist society requires a high level of development of each unit in the socialist structure and because the mature forms of the socialist way of life must be asserted precisely there, in the primary units, where the people work and live.

This is because mature socialism can be achieved only with the broadest possible participation of the masses in the course of its development, including and even above all in making managerial decisions and organizing their implementation.

This is because the Bulgarian working class and Bulgarian people as a whole have advanced greatly in their political, ideological and cultural growth; because the primary organs and organizations in our political system have strengthened, gained experience and today everywhere, in all settlements and primary labor collectives, there are people who can make independent decisions and act in accordance with the national interests, the norms and principles of communist ideology and the requirements of our profoundly national party and state policy.

In most general terms, our present circumstances are the following: On the one hand, by necessity we must concentrate on the primary levels; on the other, we have in them the necessary forces with which to resolve the problems raised by life. Taking such favorable circumstances into consideration, and developing its April policy, at its 12th Congress the BCP set the tasks related to expanding the rights of labor collectives and obshtinas.

As I pointed out, the labor collectives were assigned the social responsibility of managing socialist property, being responsible for its effective utilization, multiplication and enrichment, having at their disposal some of the income earned from such management and, on this basis, being able to resolve by themselves some of their problems. The labor collectives--from the brigade to the economic organization--elect their own managers and have a say in the appointment of new members, the distribution of material rewards, and so on, and so forth. It is thus that the labor collective is becoming a center within which the most vital problems of man are resolved and in which man enjoys all rights and possibilities of participating in fact and through his work and vote in resolving such problems.

No less important is the formulation by the 12th Congress on the development of the obshtinas and conurbation systems. Above all, the party called for increasing the material strength of the obshtinas and creating strong managements with rich opportunities for material activities and initiative and for

seriously restricting regulations and petty supervision on the part of superior organs. Today the obshtinas can organize auxiliary and secondary production facilities, workshops for repairs and services, and auxiliary farms in the villages. They can borrow money from banks at advantageous conditions, some of their activities are tax-free, and so on. This offers great opportunities for the people to organize by themselves the solution of the basic problems of their life and as residents of a village or city.

The gradual conversion of the conurbation systems to the principles of cost accounting and self-support is scheduled to play a decisive role in this direction.

In the past, immediately after the April Party Plenum, in the course of our search for new methods for developing the initiative of the masses, we created a new territorial-settlement structure in the country. Its main feature was the establishment of 30 okrugs. As a result of such activities about 30 cities developed, with a powerful economy and strong possibilities of satisfying the political, cultural and social needs and interests of the people. This brought about great progress in the settlement structure of our country. These cities contributed to the overall progress of society.

Today, through the conurbation systems and the obshtinas, we are on the way to the creation of some 300 settlements. This will be something resembling a second belt in the support structure of our entire economic, political, spiritual and social life. This will provide new opportunities, some of them political, for the people to undertake to resolve their problems by themselves in accordance with the interests of society at large.

At the same time, we shall encourage the further development and advancement of our political system through the even more energetic participation of the working person in resolving problems of economic, political and cultural construction, the development of his creative forces and the comprehensive realization of his capabilities. The main feature in this process is to ensure the conscious activeness of the socialist individual, the socialist working person. It is true that a person could be active also when instructed from above or when he is forced to be active for a variety of material reasons. However, this is a rather narrow, a rather limited activeness. We must develop the type of conditions in which, as the people say, every person will harness himself of his own free will, will wake up by himself and will think of his own work and control himself. It is then and then only that his activeness will be conscious and, therefore, most thought-out, most methodical and most efficient, it will become an activeness on the level of the problems we are resolving.

What must be done to secure conditions for enhancing the conscious activities of the individual?

Every working person must become well-informed of the problems which must be resolved at his job; the tasks of the labor collective in which he works; the tasks of the settlement in which he lives; and the country's plans and intentions as a whole.



Sociologists and psychologists proved long ago that in the absence of such information man becomes less active. The question of ties between managers on all levels and working people and the information which must be supplied to the working people has been raised frequently. Unfortunately, in frequent cases workers and employees are better informed of events in other countries and continents than in their own enterprise or settlement. An end must be put to such practices. It is imperative to develop an efficient information system available to all working people and citizens in the country. This must take place regularly, approximately once a month and, in exceptional cases, even more frequently. Here again the initiative must come from the party members and the primary party organizations.

The mass information media as well must improve their activities. We must achieve better coordination and distribution of roles between central and local mass information media. For the time being we see frequent duplication of information. Furthermore, some publications are of very low informative and cognitive value. Other publications teach us nothing new about the specific life of the working people and the problems they face. Those who take to the pen should know the new information which must be provided to the people on their work and life.

Even better conditions must be created to study the views, opinions and considerations of the working people on their work and life.

The Bulgarian working person has greatly matured. He is a cultured and educated individual with a highly developed feeling of dignity and it is entirely natural for him to have an opinion as to how to plan and carry out the given project. We should make any supporter of the bureaucratic or ordering approach to forget it. We favor discussing with every working person the work, the work plan and results. We favor the study of a person's opinion not as a manifestation of politeness but as a business proposition in the course of which anything which is useful, intelligent and expedient will be considered and implemented. This approach is valuable, for it involves not only the practical force of the working person but his moral and spiritual forces and stimulates and encourages his creativity.

We must improve the system of protection of social rights and obligations of the individual in their dialectical unity and interaction.

Ours is a working society and labor is the source of the public wealth we create and with which we live. The social status of the individual in labor is based on the Marxist principle of "to each according to the quantity and quality of his work." Every person has rights and obligations which must be considered in a state of unity and natural interconnection. Broadened rights naturally mean increased responsibilities and obligations. This is the normal, the natural way. From the viewpoint of the political system, however, the interrelationship between rights and obligations must be carefully protected. The most important feature in this protection is the system of incentives and encouragement and, naturally, punishments.

We already have such a system. It is yielding results but it would be no exaggeration to say that it also has a number of white spots and that some of

its elements are ineffective, for there are obvious cases in which a criminal attitude toward socialist property, nonimplementation of labor assignments, and so on, are not only not prosecuted but are even rewarded. In a number of cases rewards and bonuses are issued not because of merit but because of sympathy or connections, in the course of which the best people are ignored because of self-seeking considerations. This weakens the faith of people in the justice of human and social relations and is reflected on his activeness --labor, social and political.

The system of incentives, rewards and penalties, with its corrections and improvements, if such are necessary, should operate impeccably in order to perform its role of stimulator of labor activeness and to strengthen in the working person the conviction that his fate lies in his own hands and that the quantity and quality of his work will determine his well-being and place in society.

A solution must be found to the problem of the advancement of a person on his job.

I raised this question for the first time in my letter to the Komsomol Central Committee in 1978. It was then discussed at the Central Committee Plenum on Education. The 12th Party Congress formulated it seriously. I also mentioned it in one of my previous lectures on social policy. However, I have decided to raise it again, for, unfortunately, no serious practical progress is apparent as yet.

Naturally, this problem neither can nor should be resolved hastily. This does not mean, however, that we should remain idle. We must set up several strong collectives involving the participation of scientists, public personalities and working people to submit plans for its resolution. Such plans should be discussed, experimented with and then implemented. This must be done at all cost, for if we resolve the problem of this horizontal progress, as we describe it, we will open a new direction in the enhancement of the people, the enrichment of their lives, the strengthening of their dignity and the increase in their social role.

#### 4. On the Further Growth of Our State Into a State of the Whole People

Along with the enhancement and strengthening of the political role of the primary units, and along with the increasingly active participation of the working people in political life our party is continuing to develop and to improve the political system as a whole.

The main direction along which our efforts are concentrated is the process of the growth of the socialist state into a state of the whole people.

The question of the transformation of the socialist state into the state of the whole people has been developed in the CPSU program and in the programs of our party and of other Marxist-Leninist parties. As we know, as a result of changes in the economic base and the class structure of socialist society, at a given stage in its development the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat become historically obsolete, whereas the responsibilities of the

state remain. It is thus that on the basis of the developing socioclass homogeneity of society and the high standards reached in the ideological-political and moral unity of the people united around the party's cause conditions arise for the gradual growth of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people.

What is the situation with this problem in the Bulgarian People's Republic?

Truly remarkable successes have been achieved in that direction. Our state represents the interests of the entire nation. Thousands of representatives of the people participate in its management and its policy is entirely directed toward the satisfaction of the people's needs. The main path along which we achieved these results has been the increasing involvement of the people's masses in the management of governmental affairs and assigning state responsibilities to public organs and organizations.

At this point it is worth noting the role of a specifically Bulgarian accomplishment in the implementation of this process common to all socialist countries. I am referring to the sociostate and state-social principle as a political discovery of great and promising significance in the development of the political superstructure of socialism in our country and as a powerful means of involving the masses in managerial processes and daily participation in governmental affairs in determining the policy of the state and the implementation of its decisions, as Vladimir Il'ich Lenin viewed the matter.

The sociostate principle was initially applied in the realm of culture and yielded excellent results. As I already pointed out, remarkably the problems of Bulgarian culture are being resolved by its makers and personalities, and so it is precisely in this manner that the party's policy in the field of culture achieved its greatest successes and victories. The state-social principle is applied also in public education. The result has been equally unquestionable: dozens of thousands of people have become involved in resolving our school problems. Successes have been achieved also in the use of the state-social principle in the activities of the agroindustrial complex. Following the Congress of Science, we shall probably undertake its even broader application in the management of our scientific front as well.

This is the path which we must continue to follow. It must be the main feature in the process of the development of the class state into the state of the whole people.

What remains to be considered and accomplished?

As we know, we undertook the creation of production-industrial associations. We must now assess whether this is sufficient and whether there is no place for new associations, including temporary ones. I am referring to associations which would offer new opportunities for developing the initiative of the people, the labor collectives and their managements and will create conditions for developing democratic managerial structures involving the even greater participation of the public.

At the same time, we must consider the type of forms of the sociostate and state-social principle which could be applied in areas affecting the entire nation, such as internal trade and public services. It will be improper for our people to continue to remain in the position of a consumer only, in a passive position. The decisive voice of the working person must be heard here as well. Ways and means for the further application of the state-social and sociostate principle will be found in the other areas of social life as well. Generally speaking, we must realize that the sociostate and state-social principle is not a secondary but a main way in the process of converting our state into a state of the whole people.

The further application of the economic and political approaches to social management and limiting the use of administrative ways and means in this area play an important role in this process.

We favor the dialectical combination of centralism with democracy. If we allow a weakening of the centers of power our political system will become inefficient and its effectiveness will diminish. On the other hand, any restriction of democratism means a restriction of the very foundation on which the political system rests. That is precisely why further decisions in improving the political system should be sought in the dialectical, the creative combination of centralism with democracy.

Above all, we must develop and apply a democratic procedure in the management of economic activities, understood by all people and on all levels. What does this mean? The regulation and stipulations of the new economic approach and its mechanism largely clarify such questions. I would add a few more things.

First, this should be a procedure for discussing the economic expediency of one economic activity or task or another. This is the main feature in the lives of individuals and labor collectives. It is precisely here, at work, that everyone must participate not only with his hands but his opinions and assessments. This applies to whether a specific item or new technology will be applied or not; whether something will be imported or not; how, through what means, is one economic task or another to be carried out. All of these are problems which must pass the test of democratically organized discussion. Naturally, the decision will be made by those who are empowered to do so. However, such people must make their decisions on the basis of the discussion. This will reduce the likelihood of confusion or error. The discussion of specific problems should be such as to ensure the participation not only of specialists but of working people in different fields and of different status, from the worker to the engineer; it should stretch along the entire chain of the production process, from the ministry to the brigade which will carry out the assignment, for in such cases we need the minds and experience of people on all levels.

Such a procedure should make economic activities stable and protect from bureaucratic interferences and arbitrariness on the part of various organs or individuals. Today's economy is dynamic and is and will remain subject to changes. A planned assignment is not a dogma but a manual for action.



However, changes in the plan cannot be made on the instruction of one person or another without being discussed in advance with the labor collective. The working people must become convinced that such a change is mandatory and must approve it. That is why we must establish a procedure which would exclude personal instructions dictated by departmental, parochial or other similar interests.

The general meeting of the new-type brigade must play a particular role in this process. This must be a standing authority which will truly discuss all problems of a labor, economic or social nature. To this effect we must fully resolve problems related to the participation of the working people in the democratic procedure for discussing and resolving by enterprises and associations of economic problems related to the new economic mechanism. Much remains to be done in this area to ensure the effective operation of the new organs and mechanisms.

We must also seriously consider the question of the role of the general population meeting of a village, district or small town which, guided by the Fatherland Front, could play an important role in resolving a number of local problems.

To lead with the help of political and economic instruments means to seek more than in the past the support of the labor collectives and individual working people. This requires a constant dialogue among managers, collectives and workers.

It is obvious that the further democratization of social management is strongly related to the party's cadre policy within the entire political system. Political and economic means cannot be handled by people with a bureaucratic or command mentality. That is why in the course of the further development and advancement of our cadre policy the ability to communicate with the masses, to hear them and to take to heart their aspirations and problems is a particularly important indicator in cadre evaluation.

A new and very essential aspect in this connection is the increasingly extensive use of social forms, ways and means of action in resolving cadre problems. Currently a number of areas in the governmental and economic structures are about to convert to the competitive principle. Such is the nature of the dialectics. Naturally, the party will have its say as to who could be a candidate for a specific position. This will guarantee the political standard of the candidates and secure the public and state interests in the work of the labor collectives. The rest will be up to the competing candidates. This will ensure conditions for the individual to prove his qualities and determine his own development.

The public is acquiring new possibilities of expressing its important opinion also through the expansion of the elective principle in economic and other state organizations. In this case the stipulations of the 12th Congress on upgrading the role of the people's representative are of great importance. Steps must be taken to enhance the role of the people's counselor. The old work methods in which the apparatus of the people's councils takes over some of the rights and functions of the people's counselors must be eliminated.

Finally, let me emphasize the importance of transferring a variety of state functions and responsibilities to the public organizations. The Bulgarian trade unions have important social rights in terms of the social insurance of the working people. The Komsomol has the right to care for the comprehensive training and realization of the young generation. The Fatherland Front is engaged in important work in organizing the work of pensioners, improving services, and so on. This is the path we shall continue to follow.

Comrades:

We must realize that these are not the only directions to be followed in the development and advancement of our political system. This process will be followed in a number of directions. Its meaning, however, will be one: better working and living conditions for the working person; richer opportunities for the socialist working people to display their forces in the development of the economy, science and culture; a more developed system of ways and means through which the people will resolve their own problems ever more completely and fully.

The development of our state and its management must increasingly become the true concern of the people, as our men of the renaissance said, a project of the broadest possible popular masses, of the entire toiling people.

## Lecture No 6

### On Enhancing the Leading Role of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Perfecting Its Political and Ideological Work

Comrades:

Our socioeconomic strategy, advancement of socialist social relations and development of the socialist political system are taking place in firm relation to the enhancement of the party's leading role and the development of the party itself, its intraparty life and intraparty democracy. That is why I am discussing the problems of the party and its political, organizational and ideological work as a separate lecture.

At the very beginning of my presentation allow me to stress that without the leading and guiding role of the communist party the very establishment of the socialist social system and its development would be inconceivable. This is a truth tested by life, which fully applies to the role, struggles and constructive accomplishments of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

As we know, our party began its way in 1891, only 13 years after the liberation of our people from Ottoman slavery. This was a time of initial capital accumulations and of still-undeveloped capitalist production relations. At that time our proletariat was small and had no organized movement in defense of the professional interests of the workers. We, the Bulgarian communists of today, must properly honor the creators of the party, headed by Dimitur Blagoev, people who, guided by the scientific ideology of the working class, developed a party of a Marxist revolutionary type.

This party of Bulgarian left-wing socialists combined inflexible loyalty to the teachings of Marx and Engels with daring theoretical and political creativity and the search for solutions which opened a path to the historical future of our people. This enabled it to adopt as its own the cause of the Great October Revolution, to rearm itself with Lenin's ideas and to lead the people to a selfless struggle for their implementation on our own Bulgarian soil.

Under the circumstances of the clandestine and armed struggle against capitalism and fascism, guided by Georgi Dimitrov, the BCP found the ways and methods for making an alliance with all working and progressive forces in the country. After acquiring tremendous experience throughout the decades of class battles, and having proved its loyalty to the basic interests of the

working people, after the victory of the 9 September socialist revolution the party of the Bulgarian communists legitimately not only became a political leader of the working class but a force guiding the historical destinies of the entire nation. Our party had developed within itself and in the thousands of Bulgarian party members the qualities which made it a Leninist-type party, which could not only head the struggle of the people for the overthrow of the monarchal fascist regime but also resolve in a mature and responsible fashion even the most difficult problems of building socialism. It was precisely these party qualities which played an exceptionally important role in the formulation and implementation of the April general line of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The April 1956 Plenum, which marked the beginning of this line, was a vital need given the then-existing domestic and international conditions. The further building of socialism in Bulgaria demanded qualitatively new political decisions which were impossible without surmounting the cult of personality. Comrades, we had to deal both with dogmatism and with the petit bourgeois element. To the credit of our party, while correcting the distortions and adverse developments allowed during the cult of personality, we did not allow any rejection or questioning of the achievements of the working class, the working people and the BCP in building socialism.

For all of these reasons the April line not only restored the Leninist principles in party life and activities but became a line of their systematic development and steady creative enrichment under Bulgarian conditions. The April line developed as an overall economic and sociopolitical strategy for completing the transitional period and building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. That is why we justifiably define it as the general line of our Bulgarian Communist Party, as its Leninist line.

This is a general line of building developed socialism, guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which it applies in accordance with the specific historical situation in the country and throughout the world and the new problems and tasks which arise in the course of social development; a line of practical implementation of the requirements of the objective laws of social development in our country and the conscious creativity of the toiling masses.

It is a general line which provides broad scope to what is new and progressive, to any contribution which the human mind, science, technology and culture could make to the progress of the socialist system in our homeland.

This is a general line which does not tolerate conservatism and stagnation, faults, errors and shortcomings; a line in which realistic analyses and estimates and constructive criticism and self-criticism are a prerequisite for its further advancement and enhancement.

It is a class, a profoundly national general line which unites the working class, the agricultural workers and the intelligentsia; a line the purpose of which is the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the working people.



It is a general line which offers broad scope for socialist democracy; a line which offers increasing opportunities to the individual and the masses to be actively included in social affairs and management.

It is a general line imbued with warm patriotism and socialist internationalism, a line of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist commonwealth; a line of unity and solidarity with all detachments of the international communists and worker movements and all progressive forces in the world.

It is a general line of increasingly deeper understanding of the party's leading role in building socialism and enriching the forms and methods of its activity.

The most important feature in the party's development after the April Plenum was its conversion into the political vanguard not only of the working class but the entire people.

This qualitative change in its sociohistorical role is legitimately related to changes in the socioclass structure of our society, the improvement of socialist social relations and the building of developed socialism. It is the legitimate result also of the increased ability of the party to maintain full-blooded relations with the working people, with all people's strata, and to guide, organize and mobilize them in the implementation of clear practical tasks in all areas of social life.

Today we have a different standard of social maturity for our socialist society. Today we have another, much higher degree of conscious utilization of the laws of the historical process; we are struggling for a qualitatively new development of production forces and social relations under the conditions of the tempestuous scientific and technical revolution; we are aiming at the profound and overall advancement of the political system and marching toward a new level of participation of the working people in management and much broader development of socialist democracy.

It is a question of tasks most of which--both in terms of theory and practice--are essentially new. We need a new vision, a new understanding of social practice. We not only must break with obsolete concepts but also with obsolete work and management methods.

Consequently, today the interconnection between the interdevelopment of socialism and the party's role in this development is intensifying and becoming richer. This calls for enhancing the reorganizing force of the party and its leading role as a factor which makes way for the new progressive processes and trends in building socialism.

Comrades:

Our experience allows us to say that the leading role of the communist party is defined above all by the level of its ideological and organizational life. It is only an ideologically mature party, firmly based on Marxist-Leninist

principles and concepts, which can develop within itself the type of political and organizational values which will enable it to be the vanguard of the working people in building the new social system. Only an organizationally strong party can provide scope for the initiative and creativity of party and nonparty people, to all working people and labor collectives in building socialism. That is why the creation of permanent conditions for the further enhancement of the level of the party's ideological and organizational life is a prime vital necessity.

The Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of party life, the Leninist principle of democratic centralism above all, are the ideological and organizational foundation on which the BCP builds its activities. The development of our party categorically confirms the accuracy and vitality of this permanent Leninist principle. The harmonious combination of centralism with democracy ensures, on the one hand, a strong organizational blend and unity of action among all units and leading levels of the party organism and, on the other, creative activeness and unleashing of the constructive energy of all party members.

In this connection, let me particularly note that all of us pay exceptional attention to unity of thought and action within our party, from its political headquarters down to the primary party organization. We devote extensive and constant concern to strengthen the ties and continuity among the different generations of party members and the proper class-party education and development of cadres on all levels, particularly those who, by the natural logic of life, are assuming and will assume the leadership of the party and the state. I believe that good results have been achieved in this respect. Naturally, we are not guaranteed against failures. Such failures, however, are isolated and individual. The tremendous majority of our cadres are loyal to the party's cause. They possess the necessary political and practical qualities and properly justify the trust voted in them.

Another basic principle on which interparty relations and life are developed is the Leninist principle of collectivism in the discussion and making of decisions. Thanks to its systematic application, the activeness of every party member in discussing problems, high discipline and responsibility and principle-mindedness in relations are a lasting phenomenon in our party's life. This was irrefutably confirmed by the exchange of party cards in the periods between the 11th and 12th party congresses. This was also confirmed by the review on enhancing the role and combat capability of the primary party organizations in the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th Congress. We know that we have party organizations of different organizational strength and ability. Some of them are very good, some of them are good and some of them are weaker. What is most important and essential, however, is that we do not have party organs and organizations in which political and organizational unity has been violated. The main feature characterizing the atmosphere in our party organs and organizations is the collective, creative and constructive approach taken to problems and intolerance of weaknesses and shortcomings.

Recently I have repeatedly spoken on the subject of the development and tasks of the party at the present stage.

Today I shall discuss only three problems which I consider particularly essential. They are the advancement and mastery of the political approach in the work of party organs and organizations; enhancing the role and efficiency of the primary party organizations; and perfecting party ideological work as a means of converting new ideas into a material force of our social progress.

# 1. Advancing and Systematically Applying the Political Approach in Party Activities

Comrades:

Advancing and systematically applying the political approach in party activities is based on its objective status as the leading nucleus of the political system of the socialist society.

The communist party provides comprehensive and all-embracing management of the political system. Taking strictly into consideration its specific nature and that of the state, economic and social organs and organizations, it engages in a variety of political, organizational and educational activities on all levels of the political system and in all social management organs. It is the political guarantor not only for the proper functioning of the political system but its development and advancement. That is why, when we speak of the further enhancement of the role of the political approach in party activities, we have in mind the increasingly fuller utilization of its specific ways and means of action as a political organization and their steady advancement.

Today we must pay particular attention for the political approach of the party to be dictated above all by the nature of our socioeconomic strategy and the very process of advancement of our political system.

The economic tasks implemented by the socialist society are of essential political significance, for they inevitably affect the interests of all classes and strata, of the entire people. Today, however, it is a question not only of this permanent and organic tie between economics and politics. Now it is a question of applying the new economic approach for the utilization of the new economic mechanisms and levers in a new way. This also radically changes the relationship between leading and performing units and among the different levels and subjects of national economic management.

How are such changes expressed?

Such changes must be entirely organized on an economic basis. This calls for a decisive and total elimination of administrative-bureaucratic management methods. This means putting an end to voluntaristic encroachments on objective economic laws and the rights and interests of labor collectives.

The party organs and organizations have the obligation not only to erect insurmountable walls against such encroachments but to penetrate more profoundly into the nature of the new economic mechanism, to guarantee its proper application and to ensure the active involvement of the working people in the theoretical and practical solution of problems.

The political approach is characterized by the ability also to penetrate into the essence of the contradictions, to take prompt measures before they have degenerated into conflicts and to help to surmount them in the interests of the national economy as a whole and the individuals. It is no secret that in the implementation of the economic policy contradictions may arise between the interests of the individual labor collectives and the larger economic and territorial units as well as between those of individual enterprises and the country and the people as a whole.

As we know, in resolving new problems contradictions between innovation and conservative attachment to routine usually become aggravated. Inevitable difficulties accompany the application of any new development. The party committees and organizations must firmly encourage, support and protect cadres who show daring and initiative, who allow sensible risks and are ready to assume responsibility for it. Naturally, not all innovations may be entirely successful. The main thing is to show understanding and patience, to wait out the natural period of time and to inspire anyone who seeks and follows unknown paths. At the same time we must intensify the struggle against those who stand aside, who "pass" and wait for someone to make a mistake so that they can show off as zealous guardians of order and discipline. Today the entire party must develop in everyone an attentive and concerned attitude toward the initiative-minded, modest and efficient personalities and workers who carry out their work without fuss and really contribute to the success of party policy.

An essential feature which characterizes the contemporary political approach is the true conversion of the mass organizations into social guarantors in the implementation of specific aspects of our socioeconomic strategy and development of socialist democracy.

As I already pointed out in my previous lecture, we consider the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the other sociopolitical and mass organizations not simply as party "transmissions." To us they are not "transmissions" but organic parts of the socialist political system. Each one of these organizations represents specific detachments of the working people and has a specific nature and activities and its own place and role in sociopolitical life; each one of them is profoundly linked to the working class, the farmworkers, the people's intelligentsia or the youth; each one of them is profoundly linked to the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Our political strength, the strength of the socialist system, is found in this unity, in this unity of action, in this active organized sociopolitical mass activity.

We also realize that the implementation of the essentially new idea of the social organizations as guarantors of one specific aspect of our national policy or another is no simple or easy matter. It requires steady and specific organizational and cadre efforts and the direct and daily assistance of the party organs and organizations. I would also say that greater faith should be shown in the efforts and possibilities of these organizations.



The contemporary development of political life calls for decisive improvements in the control exercised by the party committees and organizations over state, economic and other management organs and cadres.

Our party--from the Central Committee to the primary party organization--respects and supports the independence and self-initiated activities in the work of state, economic and social organs and organizations. The substitution, duplication and assumption of the functions, activities and rights of state and public organs by party committees and officials conflict with the political approach, the Leninist workstyle. Such cases and attempts should be eliminated once and for all.

The party discusses and approves the basic trends in the activities of the respective organs and institutions, after which its main work should be control and aid, and aid and control; such control should be intelligent, penetrating, thoughtful, permanent, and, above all, preventive regarding the work of the various organs and institutions and their leading cadres. It is precisely in this sense that party control is not only a prerequisite but a guarantee for the effectiveness of the political system and the systematic implementation of the principles of socialist democracy and our socioeconomic strategy.

Let me immediately emphasize that in this case the positions, the criteria on the basis of which party control is exercised are of tremendous importance, for this is a political control and its criteria should naturally stem from the pursued political course and the basic tasks and requirements governing its implementation.

Two of these criteria are particularly noteworthy today:

First, do the leading units and institutions observe and master the requirements of the economic approach and its mechanism in resolving production and economic problems?

Second, how do the controlled leading organs behave toward the labor collectives? Do they respect their interests and rights and, more important, their rights based on the party concept of the new Labor Code? Do they resolve their problems and encourage their active participation in the implementation of production, economic and political tasks?

Comrades:

The further democratization of intraparty relations, enhancement of the feeling of responsibility and principle-mindedness in relations among party members and increased exigency on the part of the party toward itself and its own standards are primary conditions for perfecting the political approach in party activities.

The enhancement of the party's leading role in building a developed socialist society and the systematic application of the political approach are directly related to the further development of the ability to seek and find the best

possible solutions to social problems. In turn, this urgently calls for ensuring a creative atmosphere and establishing a possibility of creative discussions and struggle of opinions, whenever new problems of social life are discussed. No ready answers to such problems exist and no one would present them to us. The BCP is steadily blazing new paths in the development of our socialist society on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The main thing here is for all discussions and conflict of opinions to be guided by clear Marxist-Leninist positions; the main thing is to discuss a decision before making it but, once made, that it be implemented with communist consistency and persistence.

Finally, let me note in this part of the lecture that no political approach can be accomplished regardless of the profoundly human content and nature of party activities. Party work is the supreme manifestation of humanism, for it is above all work with the people, the cadres, the individuals. It must take into consideration the nature of the human mentality, human behavior and human relationships.

## 2. On Further Enhancing the Role and Activity of Primary Party Organizations

Comrades:

Experience in building mature socialism has indicated the accuracy of the concept of the growing importance of the primary party organization in overall party activities. The concept of the development of the primary party organization as the leading political nucleus of the labor collective and the prototype of its future condition is already becoming the conviction of the Bulgarian communists.

What are the paths to be followed in the further enrichment of the life and role of the primary party organizations?

First. Under the conditions of the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, the topical task is for the primary party organization to be not only the representative of the party in the labor collective but also the representative of the labor collective in the party.

Yes, the primary party organization is the main carrier of socialist awareness in the collective in the implementation of its assignments. However, it must also be familiar with and reflect the emotions and thoughts of the collective. Above all it must actively contribute to the prompt solution of the problems affecting its immediate interests.

Second. The primary party organization must work day after day to make its internal life a model of socialist social relations. The values of intraparty life, acquired by the party in the course of lengthy struggles and constructive efforts, are values which are increasingly needed by all human communities under socialism. High idea-mindedness and organization, collectivity and principle-mindedness in interrelationships, comradeship and mutual aid, creativity and struggle, criticism and self-criticism and responsibility and discipline are some of the values of intraparty life which must now be

transferred from the primary party organization to the labor collective and to the activities of administrative and economic management and the work of the public organizations.

Third. The primary party organization must be the constant collective support of its members in their efforts to develop and advance as communists and citizens. Nothing can be more natural than this aspiration on which we must rely. This means that precisely here, in the primary organization, the party member will grow steadily and comprehensively from the ideological, political and organizational viewpoints. This means that it is precisely here that a party member must receive encouragement and support when he is looking for an answer and participating in resolving all problems which affect himself, his comrades in the party organization and the members of the collective.

Enhancing the responsibility of every individual party member in the implementation of the vanguard role by the party must be the steady concern of the primary party organization. The example and influence of the individual party member, his work and way of life, his daring and responsibility and his personal and social qualities largely determine the reputation of our party cause.

We, Bulgarian communists, are deeply aware of the fact that one must struggle throughout one's life and with one's entire life for the title of communist. To be a communist does not mean a privilege. It is above all a responsibility, a great social responsibility. Most importantly, it is a responsibility not only to oneself but to everyone and for everything around one.

Today a great deal is demanded of every party member. He must be in the front ranks of the struggle, carry out his labor obligations on a highly professional basis and his personal share of the common project must categorically stand out. The yardstick of the communists' contribution, however, does not end with his personal action, however extensive it might be. The yardstick also means the number of people it has led in the general upsurge, and the way he has contributed to ensuring the necessary conditions for the full deployment of forces and for increasing the contribution of his comrades in the labor collective.

In conclusions, let me stress once again that the party means above all the primary party organizations, the communists, and their unity of thought and action. That is why the concern of the Central Committee and all party managements for strengthening and enhancing the activity and combat capability of each primary party organization and every party member is and will remain a prime concern.

Comrades:

The questions I have discussed so far are most closely related also to the continuing proper regulation of the party's social and qualitative structure.

We know that the qualities of the party member strengthen and develop in the course of his lengthy participation in the party's ideological-political and

organizational life. However, the "baggage," if I may use this term, with which the new party member enters the party's ranks, is also of tremendous importance in this development. That is why the condition and development of the party and of each primary party organization, as well as the trust which society has in them also depend on the concern shown in the choice of new party members. Naturally, not every person has the qualities which are mandatory for a communist. Not everyone can assume the responsibilities which a communist must assume. It is not an individual who can determine whether or not the candidate has such qualities and possibilities. This is the exclusive right of the primary party organization. Naturally, this does not conflict with the possibility of establishing in the future the practice of accepting new party members not at closed but at open party meetings. This would be consistent with the party's trend of increasingly relying on the nonparty people and involving them with its responsibilities and internal life.

Under contemporary conditions as well the Leninist requirements concerning the ideological, political, practical and moral qualities of the communist are mandatory requirements for joining the party. Those who enter the party must be ideologically mature. They must have high professional training and general culture. They must enjoy a good reputation among the people. The class-political principle should not be considered or reduced merely to origin and social affiliation, for the practical qualities, labor, managerial and organizational standards, collectivistic moral qualities and ability to identify and practically apply possibilities for steadily improving our life are also a manifestation of the class-party position held by the communist.

During the decades which followed the April Plenum important structural changes were made in the party's membership. Let me say a few words about them.

We reported at the 12th Congress that the party has 825,876 members. What stands behind this impressive figure?

This means, above all, the increased share of workers, intellectuals and officials and a reduced percentage of farmers. This trend reflects substantial changes in the socioclass structure of the society, based on the growth of the working class, the quantitative diminution of the peasant class and the strengthened role of the intelligentsia in our development. The acceptance of new party members is consistent with this trend. Thus, for example, in the period between the 11th (1976) and 12th (1981) party congresses, 108,065 new party members were accepted. More than 50 percent of them are workers directly engaged in material production. Today 52.7 percent of the party members are in material production; 28 percent are engaged in other social activities and 19.3 percent are pensioners.

The number of women in the party has increased from 20.4 percent in 1958 to 31 percent at the end of 1982. More than 35 percent of the members of elective party organs are women.



All generations of working people are represented in the party. The class revolutionary tempering of the older generations becomes naturally combined with the energy and possibilities of the younger. However, although 74 percent of the newly accepted party members after the 12th Party Congress are under 30, a relative increase in the percentage of older people in the party is becoming apparent. Naturally, this is the result of the general trend toward a longer life span in our country. The reason, however, should also be sought in the previously slowed-down pace of accepting young people into the party. The aging trend is more sharply visible in some sectors, okrugs, professions and specialties.

General positive changes may be noted in terms of the educational standard of the party members. The party's membership today shows high educational indicators which have continued to rise after the 12th Congress. Party members with higher, semi-higher and secondary training already account for 60 percent of the overall membership; 91.6 percent of the new members accepted after the congress have higher, semi-higher and secondary training and nearly 90 percent of the newly accepted officials are members of the engineering and technical intelligentsia.

What is the most characteristic feature of the structure of the party's leading units? Currently they are staffed by cadres whose ideological and political maturity has been tested in life and are active participants in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and in building socialism. The bulk of the cadres working in the party organs--more than 85 percent of them--come from worker or toiling peasant families. Some 20 percent of them began their careers as workers. The principle of combining different cadre generations is being implemented; 72 percent of the secretaries of primary party organizations are between 30 and 50 years of age, i.e., at the peak of their creative forces and possibilities.

The educational and qualifical characteristics of the party's leading cadres are equally high. All okrug party committee secretaries have higher training. Today nearly 92 percent of secretaries of primary party organizations, 84 percent of members of obshtina and 89 percent of okrug party committee members have higher, semi-higher and secondary training. Nearly two-thirds of all of them are engineers, technicians, economists or agricultural specialists.

To sum it up: the party properly regulates and develops its membership and cadre structure. It takes generally into consideration the growth of the working class and the positive changes occurring in the educational and cultural standards of the population, the increased role of women and the intelligentsia, and the increasing political and social role of the young generations. A good party nucleus exists in the basic production and non-production areas.

What is the direction to be followed in the efforts to improve the system for upgrading the party's structure?

First. Our permanent concern is to strengthen the party's influence along the entire reproduction process in all areas of public production and, above

all, in the new and promising social activities. Greater attention should be paid to increasing the enrollment of young people in the party and their upbringing and development as loyal party members.

Second. The social and qualitative structure of the party must continue to be regulated in accordance with the intensifying dynamics of social life and progressive trends in changes in the socioclass structure and social status of the individual social groups.

Third. It is particularly important for the party structure to reflect to a far greater extent not only interclass but intraclass changes and to be in step with the new and promising factors in these changes. This presumes a far greater differentiation and specific approach in regulating party membership among workers, farmers, intellectuals and officials.

### 3. Converting the Ideological Content of Party Policy Into a Material Force of Our Development Is the General Task on the Ideological Front

Comrades:

Perfecting ideological work and successfully implementing its responsible tasks means ensuring the ideological and political growth of the entire party and the enhancement of its leading and inspiring role.

The steady efforts being made for the development of the ideological front and its closest possible linking to the needs and tasks of social practice are a strong and lasting tradition of the BCP.

We substantiated and formulated this concept also in the elaboration of the new party program, which stipulates the following:

"The main concern in ideological work, to which the party ascribes prime attention in the further development of the socialist system, is the following:

"The passionate and convincing dissemination of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, instilling them as the full outlook of all working people, of the entire nation;

"Passionately and substantively to convince the working people of the profound truth and fruitfulness of the party's policy, turning it into their profoundly personal matter and making them conscious fighters for its implementation;

"Answering the new questions raised as a result of the development of science and social practice; concretizing and enriching and creatively developing Marxist-Leninist ideas and shedding light on the future;

"Aggressively struggling against bourgeois ideology and right-wing and 'left-wing' opportunism and protecting the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine."

The program emphasizes that "the main criterion of the efficiency of ideological work is the level of activeness of the masses in sociopolitical, economic and cultural life, and the extent to which Marxist-Leninist ideas and party policy are converted into a material force."

That is why we are developing our ideology and ideological activities by steadily strengthening their ties with life and, above all, with the key problems and tasks being resolved by the entire party and people.

Any separation of ideology and ideological activities from economic, political, cultural and other problems would have an adverse effect on socialist practice and deprive the leaders and working people of the necessary ideological support and Marxist-Leninist ideological criteria and guidelines. Such an approach would cause irreparable harm to the ideological workers themselves and would inevitably lead them to an abstract and bookish approach and sterile scholasticism.

Let me reemphasize that the tie between ideological work and life is an ongoing process.

Why?

Because the very development of society is an ongoing process which faces us with new tasks and problems.

Because the process of creative development of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine is uninterrupted, through the elaboration of crucial problems and prospects of contemporary socialist construction.

Because it is a continuing process of practical mastery of legitimate trends in the interest of social progress and people, and of the present and future of the socialist individual.

That is precisely why we can say that the intensifying and deepening ideologization of all aspects and areas of social life is among the most important laws of building developed socialism.

The objectively increasing ideologization of social life was expressed in the content of the most important party decisions on the further building of mature socialism and the country, adopted at the 12th Congress. It was no accident that we emphasized at the congress the fact that the new theoretical stipulations and anything which we will undertake in connection with their practical implementation also represent a development of our ideology. By this I mean the new economic approach and its mechanism, the stipulation of the owner and manager, commodity-monetary and distribution relations in the stage of building developed socialism, unity of rights and obligations of the working people, the struggle for the comprehensive application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and so on.

That is why the purpose of ideological work is to encompass in the party stipulations and resolutions the basic needs and interests of our development

and the socialist working person. Its task is to direct the attention of the entire society to such requirements and interests, to give them priority in the public and individual consciousness and to establish them as criteria in the assessment and self-assessment of the actions of the social collectives, individuals and management organs on all levels. Its task is to convert them into incentives and motives for behavior or, in brief, to enhance the public and individual awareness on a level consistent with the requirements of building mature socialism.

Let us consider, for example, the question of comprehensive intensification.

What is its ideological meaning?

First, it is a question which affects the vital interests of our people.

Without converting to intensive development in our economy and our entire social life, based on scientific and technical progress, it is already becoming impossible for the production process to catch up with the faster growth of population requirements. Furthermore, unless we follow this path, under the present circumstances it would be impossible not only to improve the living standard but even to maintain the standard already reached.

Secondly, the question of comprehensive intensification is ideological also from the viewpoint of the social forces needed for its practical implementation.

In an intensive development, based on an incredibly fast advance of scientific and technical progress, the qualitatively new functions of the manpower becomes particularly important. It is to steadily upgrade the production process by leaps and bounds, rapidly to introduce new equipment and technology, and immediately to put to practical use the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. Consequently, the difference compared to the past is infinite.

However, in order for this characteristic in the advancement of contemporary production forces to be manifested, we must develop not only technology but above all man himself as the main productive force which must grow as a comprehensively developed individual. This, comrades, is because without the development of the working person we shall be unable to resolve the problem of updating the production process through the application of new vanguard technologies. The working person is not only the one who implements the planned assignments, for which he receives a certain reward, but an active factor in the elaboration of the enterprise's counterplans and the distribution of individual income as a result of the quantity and quality of the labor invested. The working person is not a passive consumer of the social gains of the labor collective. He is an active factor in shaping and implementing the plans for the social development of his collective.

Consequently, we must create a social atmosphere of strict respect and implementation and observance of the party's system of moral and material incentives and guarantees related to the labor and civic realization of the working people.



Which is the main problem here? It is the new features in the approach to the working person and his position and importance in society and social progress and his realization in life; a new feature is found in the requirements which society puts to him; another new feature is the attitude of society toward his needs and requirements.

That is why we must consider problems of comprehensive intensification also according to what they mean to the people from the viewpoint of our socialist humanism and our aspiration to achieve increasingly greater social justice and increasingly developed socialist democracy. What could this be unless it is a task, an important task of the ideological front?

The next major ideological problem is that of the unity of rights and obligations of the working person. The correct understanding and resolution of this problem determines the proper link between the progress of the working person and that of society. That is why I have repeatedly discussed this matter on other occasions as well. Let me stress now that the principle of the unity of rights and obligations must become part of the overall educational activities. It must become a criterion in the proper organization and efficient pursuit of education processes in molding the individual. Why?

Because we consider the question of unity of rights and obligations a matter related to the socialist nature of relations among people within the collective and the entire society. There is no right of the individual which is not also an obligation of the others toward him, and vice versa. Failure to fulfill one's obligations to others means, quite simply, restricting and even violating their rights. Socialist collectivism, which our ideology considers as the most important social value, is a manifestation of the correct attitude of the individual toward his rights and obligations and the rights and obligations of the other members of the collective and the collective as a whole. That is precisely why we believe that strengthening and improving collectivism in life is the most firm realistic foundation for shaping within every individual the conviction of the need for organic unity between rights and obligations.

What I have said so far in connection with the full shaping and realization of the working person as an individual is most directly related to our basic stipulation that socialist labor is the core of the socialist way of life.

That is why both at work and outside work we would like to guarantee the deserved priority of anyone who pulls forward. We must firmly surmount obsolete, primitive and socially harmful concepts of equalization, which have nothing in common with the socialist principle of equity. This is another very important ideological problem, which is related not only to the incentives and levers of our development but the moral consciousness, the moral health of the Bulgarian society.

To sum it up, let me emphasize that the power of ideological work today lies in the scientific substantiation, social expediency and systematic protection of the interests of the working people. This force is embedded in the party's new theoretical stipulations and practical approaches. The materialization

of this idea and the transformation of the party's position into the position of the entire people, inspiring and leading it in the struggle for socialism and communism is the most important task on the ideological front.

Comrades:

As we may see, along with changes in life itself and in the content and grading of social assignments, we must also change the problems and methods of influence used in ideological work. On the other hand, the creative party approach to the study and mastery of the objective laws, the creative party approach to the development of our ideology must be consistent with a creative approach in the very realization of ideological influences on the consciousness of the people and the youth.

Let me immediately say that ideological work belongs wherever problems are actually being resolved. It is there and there only that it can fulfill even more firmly and efficiently its mission of constant and powerful spiritual incentive for and support of the initiative of the people, of intolerance toward weaknesses and shortcomings and the people's aspiration to make an increasingly active contribution to labor and social affairs.

Our ideological work must support all constructive worker voices, and all constructive statements and suggestions made by the working people; it must support all honest and principled criticism by the working people; it must rebuff all attempts at neglecting their views and sensible suggestions; it must rebuff all unhealthy moods based on egotistical personal or group interests, and so on.

A number of favorable conditions are being created for ideological work to become an intrinsic part of the life of collectives in precisely such an active manner. Thousands of general meetings of brigades and primary labor collectives are being held at which hundreds of thousands of workers, specialists and employees are expressing their views. Thousands of brigade and economic councils are operating at which we hear the voices of the representatives of the workers and the working people themselves. Our ideological workers must systematically and purposefully listen to the views and suggestions of the working people and the views and suggestions of the working people in obshtinas and conurbation systems. All of this will inevitably help us to eliminate manifestations of noisy praise, verbosity and pseudo-science.

Consequently, we must always make each topic and task in ideological work realistic and practical. Clarity, concreteness, meaningfulness and total frankness in our dialogue with the people are necessary. We have successes and accomplishments which we must assert and propagandize. At the same time, we do not conceal the existence of serious shortcomings and weaknesses. They must be brought out in public and subjected to public criticism in order to surmount them.

In other words, systematic and aggressive ideological work is needed in all areas in labor, way of life, material production, distribution and all sectors of our socialist culture.

Comrades:

Another important problem which I shall discuss is that of class-party upbringing.

This topic is exceptionally broad. I shall limit myself merely to some particularly topical problems.

It is an elementary truth that class-party upbringing is based on the solid foundations of our great Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the overall mastery of its scientific wealth and dialectical method. The mastery of our revolutionary theory and the creative accomplishments of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking offers the individual fundamental conceptual and political guidelines. The communist outlook, as Marx taught us, and of which all of us are convinced, not only explains the world. It is also an outlook on the progressive changes in reality in accordance with the ideals and historical objectives of the working class.

That is why the efforts to shape and defend class-party positions and the class-party approach in the comprehensive upbringing of the individual must continue to be distinguished by its exceptional aggressiveness and militancy.

What does this mean under our contemporary socialist conditions?

Above all and mostly it means the shaping of an active political position of the individual.

An active political position today means everyone's readiness to work and struggle for the practical implementation of the tasks of building socialism, which bring us closer to the implementation of the great communist ideals. It means the proper attitude of the individual toward social factors and forces of our development--the party, the people and the individual. It means a proper attitude of the individual toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and our comrades and fellow workers in the fields of ideas and struggle, and all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. As I have repeatedly emphasized, this proper attitude today is the key to our further progress.

When we speak of the active political position of the individual we have in mind socialist reality such as it is. I think that it would be unnecessary to explain in length and in width the fact that our party's April line has nothing in common with any idealizing of reality, which is still a tendency displayed by some ideological workers and educators. Our comprehensive upsurge is accompanied and will inevitably be accompanied by negative manifestations and phenomena which have a certain effect on the minds of the people, the youth in particular, in their first exposure to the "back side" of life. That is why a frank dialogue must be kept with everyone, the youth above all. The young men and women must know the truth of life not only in order not to be disappointed in facing difficulties but to be ready to fight them. We insist that ideological education cover our entire life--with its successes, difficulties and even its excesses--in the family, at school, in the VUZs and in the labor collective.



However, under the pretext of fighting negative phenomena and weaknesses, we should not allow the type of summations of our socialist reality and nature of our system which would deny the tremendous progress made by the country, the tremendous gains of the working people and their own growth as individuals.

Another important aspect of class-party upbringing is shaping a proper attitude on the part of the individual toward processes and phenomena in the contemporary world. We live and develop under the conditions of a gigantic clash between two basically conflicting social systems. The global revolutionary process as well is developing tempestuously and, sometimes, quite contradictorily. All of this demands of us to stand on our class positions and to be able to defend our communist truth regarding the world, social progress, the fate of our planet and the destinies of all people.

Our ideological education work must shape in all Bulgarian citizens a highly developed class-party, patriotic and international awareness, bearing in mind the qualitative changes in the meaning of patriotism and internationalism. Today our patriotism means above all love of our socialist homeland and socialist Bulgaria. In other words, it is socialist patriotism, which organically includes communist idea-mindedness.

The class nature of internationalism, expressed by the revolutionary communist and worker movements, was formulated with classical clarity in the famous Communist Party Manifesto slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite!" Socialist internationalism arose on the foundations of proletarian internationalism, as a manifestation of the common interests of the working class and the peoples in the countries with a socialist social system.

All of this is directly reflected on the development of the patriotic and international awareness of our people and leads to the gradual interpenetration between socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism.

This process is manifested most clearly in the attitude toward the Soviet Union--the historical nucleus around which the socialist system crystallized. In the realm of Bulgarian-Soviet relations we can already clearly speak of the appearance of a new type of patriotic and international awareness in the Bulgarian people, in which love for Bulgaria and love for the Soviet Union supplement and enrich each other and increasingly blend within a single feeling and awareness.

The international situation calls for firmly upgrading our vigilance and combat capability regarding bourgeois ideological subversion. An unprecedently concentrated psychological warfare has been waged of late against the socialist countries, our country in particular. The American imperialists are openly proclaiming a "crusade" against the Soviet Union, the socialist commonwealth and the communist ideas. The strategic objectives of international reaction are clear. It is trying to take its historical revenge for its defeats after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The imperialist forces are trying to reduce the attractiveness of the socialist system and the communist ideas. They are trying to stop or at least to slow



down our development and to instill in all of us that socialism cannot cope with the new problems of its own progress and that of the world at large. They do not choose the means used in alienating from and pitting the working class, the intelligentsia and the youth against the ruling communist parties.

The immediate task of our ideological front and of all us, communists, is not to defend ourselves but, using the power of communist truth and conviction and communist optimism, to advance against bourgeois ideas, views and theories, countering them with our own views, concepts and ideas on contemporary social developments and the historical gains of real socialism in building a new type of civilization.

Our answer to attempts at slandering, blackening and dividing us is to strengthen the ties between the party and the people's masses and the unity among all social classes and strata, headed by the working class and rallied around the party's line and policy.

Our answer is the struggle for further strengthening of the fraternal friendship with the great Soviet Union and the even greater intensification of the unity among fraternal parties, countries and peoples of the socialist commonwealth.

Our answer is to continue to make our contribution to strengthening the cohesion and unity of action of the international communist and worker movements and all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism and for freedom, national independence, peace and social progress.

Comrades!

The main objective of our ideological work will continue to be the development and strengthening of the socialist system, the creation of the material and spiritual conditions for the development of creative forces and comprehensive development of the individual, and the assertion and advancement of the socialist way of life.

The socialist way of life is based on the achievements of the Bulgarian people in the course of building socialism. It puts together the traditional and the new, socialist virtues of the people, converting them into a live force working for the further advancement of the country and the socialist individual. To us this way of life is inseparable from the conditions we created for the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people and the development of the creative talents and full realization of every person.

All of this we achieved under the leadership of the BCP.

That is why the conclusion which we may draw from this lecture is the following: We must increasingly enhance the party's leading capability as the political vanguard of the people and the guiding and organizing force in our socioeconomic development. This is the alpha and omega of our work and struggle for building developed socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

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